JOURNAL

OF THE

EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. XIV OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

VOLUME FOURTEEN: 1987

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MYSORE

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Secretary and Executive Editor

Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer

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EDITORIAL

When the editorial to the previous issue of the Society's journal was in the press, the dates of the thirteenth annual conference of the Society were not yet fixed after the initial postponement. It was a matter of satisfaction to note that the thirteenth annual conference went off very well at Patna between 17th and 19th of April 1987. The Society is grateful to the organisers K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Bihar, Bihar Purātattva Parishad, Dr. P.N. Ojha, Director and Shri Shreenivasa Sharma Shastri, Senior Research Fellow of K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute for their untiring efforts in making the conference sucessful.

It is equally a matter of great satisfaction to the society that the fourteenth conference is taking place at Guwahati, on the banks of the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputrā) in ancient Kāmarūpa. The Society is beholden to the Government of Assam, the Directorate of Museums and its dynamic Director Dr. R.D. Choudhury for hosting the fourteenth conference at Guwahati.

Ever since the annual conference at Patna, the Society has been making rapid strides in its march towards progress. In the year gone by, the Society could enroll more members by way of life membership and annual membership. The Society is deeply indebted to the members for their continued support and cooperation.

Marine Archaeology, one of the newly developing branches of Archaeology has been making rapid progress in our country after the successful maiden work in the Arabian sea off the Dvārakā coast. A seminar was recently conducted at Jamnagar and among the distinguished participants included our Chairman Dr. S. H. Ritti.

It is gratifying to note that our Ex. Chairman and honorary fellow Prof. K.D. Bajpai was recently felicitated and honoured with a Volume of studies on indology by His Excellency the Vice-President of India Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma in the presence of a distinguished gathering at New Delhi. The Society offers its felicitatations and greetings to Prof. Bajpai and prays to the Almighty for his long and active life.

It is indeed a happy news to hear that the vetern indologist Prof. A.K. Narain is planning to start an institute for Buddhist and Asian Studies at Sarnath, a fitting place hallowed by the memories of Buddha. The Society is sure that the founding of this institute will be welcomed by all the votaries of indology. The Society offers its best wishes to Prof. Narain and looks forward to hear of the future programmes and plans of the proposed institute.

The Society mourns the sad demise of Shri A. M. Annigeri, an erudite scholar and epigraphist. Shri Annigeri has made notable contribution to Kannaḍa epigraphy and history and there are a number of books to his credit.

We are happy to present the fourteenth volume of the journal of the Society, We are deeply grateful to our Chairman Dr.

S. H. Ritti for his kind guidance and help. No words will be sufficient enough to express our thanks to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) for the immense help we have received in running the society and publishing the Society's journal. We are equally grateful to Shri M. N. Katti, Chief Epigraphist and our Vice-Chairman for his abiding interest and co-operation. We thank our treasurer Dr. Venkatesh for maintaining the accounts of the society. We have received timely help from Shri S. Nagarjuna of the Office of Director (Epigraphy), Mysore and we express our thanks to him.

The printing of the journal has always been bristled with problems. In scrutinising the articles and checking the proofs, we have received great help from Dr. M. D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and Dr. C.R. Srinivasan, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist and we offer our thanks to them. We would be failing in our duty if we do not thank Shri S. K. Lakshinarayana, Proprietor, Vidyasagar Printing and Publishing House and his staff notably Shri R. Venkatesh for the printing of the volume.

We conclude with the Society's motto 'Vṛiddhir=astu—let there be prosperity all round'.

S. Subramonia Iyer
Secretary & Executive Editor

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

R. Tirumalai

I am keenly sensible of the great honour done to me by the scholars assembled, and the Epigraphical Society of India in electing me as the General President of the Annual Congress this year, I am equally aware of my own inadequacies to hold this high office. I accepted it, nevertheless, in great humility. First it is an act of kindness of my eminent scholar-friends which I cannot but requit. Second I owe it to the discipleship and life-long association with that great savant, my Professor, the late K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, and I would take this honour as the tribute to the discipline he inculcated in me. Third it encourages me a great deal to do continued original research in the most fascinating part of my life's work-to interpret the technical and administrative terms in the inscriptions and further my efforts to unravel their authentic meaning and purport. The data thus yielded help reconstruct in a fuller canvas the economic and social history of the people and of the different tracts, a task still left with large gaps to fill.

I bow to the scholarship and achievements of the great savants, the past Presidents from Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, and D. C. Sircar, downwards and to the doyens in the field like Dr. K. D. Bajpai and K. V. Ramesh who are valued guides in the discipline and for our deliberations. Our homage is also due to the pioneer epigraphists of India, Dr. Hultzsch, Kielhorn, Fleet, Venkayya, Krishna Sastri, K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, Gopinatha Rao, A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, V. V. Mirashi, Hirananda Sastri and a host of others. It is appropriate to invoke them, as we do in a Nāndi ceremony-on this Centenary Year of the Department. To them we owe the rich source-material and the persistent and painstaking efforts to reconstruct the history of our land. The histories of almost all dynasties in the Central and South India and of the mighty kingdoms of the Mauryas and the Guptas mainly rest on the life-work of those eminent epigraphists.

I am a student of epigraphy and history by innate interest and involvement. Administration was the area of my service by turn of circumstances. In my case the two had blended, and mutually nurtured each other. For a good part of my career, I was commissioned to investigate land tenures and formulate proposals for legislation, and to settle the intermediary tenures involving over 10,000 sq. miles of field work. The methods of historical investigation inculcated in me were of avail for my administrative work and helped locate and identify the different tenures. My 12 years' field settlement work, footing every bund, and ridge and heath, fastened my mind on the agrarian factors and practices and agricultural usages and the authentic terminology in the rural areas. It also threw up sites and inscriptions which had not been noticed earlier. Close to the ground, face to face with the surviving modes and terms of agrarian economy that the inscriptions present, but also gave a

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* Delivered at the XIIIth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Patna on 17th, 18th and 19th of April 1987.

facility to interpret the terms back from the still extant practices and usages. Mark Block's methodology of proceeding backwards from the "grown animal" to the "embryo" was thus applied, with this difference that the embryo itself had survived in some cases, as if they were frozen for centuries. It is not an accident that many Settlement Officers and Administrators had contributed to epigraphical discoveries and historical research.

The intertwined discipline also underlined the importance and utility of a firm grip over the location and geo-agrarian conditions and helped formulate a methodology of my own which are evidenced by the several papers, and my work on the Townships of South India. I was enabled to pursue the latest of the series, the Pāṇḍyan townships under the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship so graciously awarded to me.

We are particularly fortunate in the venue of the session. Patna was the capital of the first great monarchy in Indian history. It was here that Kauṭilya resoundingly proclaimed the inherent integrity of India: 'Dēśaḥ pṛithvī tasyāṁ himavat-samudrāntaraṁ udīchīnāṁ yōjana-sahasra-parimāṇaṁ tiryak chakravarttikshētram[1] ।.'

"The land which extends north to south from the Himalayas to the sea, and measures a thousand *yōjanas* across, is the field of the Chakravartin" - an ideal fully realised under Aśōka.

That statement enunciates the "lively realisation of the possibility of a united state embracing all India, which was attained centuries before the beginnings of the British rule in India, in the 4th century B. C. when the first all India empire of the Mauryas" was established. This articulated concept of of the integrity of India is the gift of Kauṭilya's mind to India[2].

Patna has not only made history, but has helped reconstruct it. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was a First citizen evinced great interest in the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Parishad's project for a comprehensive history of India. We are meeting under the distinguished auspices of a great institute named after the eminent historian and orientalist, K. P. Jayaswal and the Bihar Research Society. Sri Jayaswal was a path-finder (*mārgadarśī*), and has made original contribution on ancient Indian polity. The Bihar Research Society has to its credit a good deal of original works. Our thanks are due to these organisations for hosting the Congress and making excellent arrangements. Bihar is an inexhaustible State for its natural resources as well as its historic and antiquarian relics. It was the cradle of Indian civilization.

I may also recall a coincidence which gives me particular strength and personal happiness. The Ninth Session of the Indian History Congress (1946) held here in Patna 40 years ago was presided over by my Professor, K.A.N. Sastri. It is relevant to recall his observations made in his address on epigraphical research at the time. He stated "while the Archaeological Department has apparently entered on a period of expansion and renewed activity under our National Government (formed in 1946) epigraphy does not appear to be getting the measure of attention it merits. This is a matter of importance to all students of the ancient and medieval history of India, and

it is vital to the study of South Indian history. Only a small fraction of the tens of thousands of inscriptions listed has been published as yet, and much of it with no sort of aids to the students ; and what is more, large areas rich in their inscriptions still await systematic survey and exploration. The need for strengthening the epigraphical branch of the Archaeological Survey particularly in the Southern circle both for exploration and for speeding up the publication of the annual reports which have not appeared after 1938 and of the texts of inscriptions is, indeed, very urgent".[3]

Prof. Sastri's assessment made in 1946, a watershed period, could well afford a benchmark for us. The Epigraphist Department, reckoning from the date of Dr. Hultzsch's assumption of office (21-11-1886) had then completed 60 years. The current year is the centenary year of the Department. It is opportune to take stock of the magnificent achievements of the Department over the century, and the progress made after India became free, and formulate the lines of further development, and means for the effective utilisation of the rich treasures garnered by the Department.

The intensive survey of inscriptions, in the Southern states especially, is a long felt-want. Many of the monuments are crumbling, and the stones bearing the inscriptions are being removed, mutilated or lost. **The field investigation staff of the Central Epigraphical Department has to be, strengthened by opening a few circles, or decentralize units functioning in each State. The survey can, predictably yield a rich crop. The sooner these efforts are organised, the greater will be their utility**. The central units can also coordinate with the State agencies and others in the field, and consolidate the field discoveries. The stress laid by Prof. Sastri on the need for strengthening the staff for epigraphic explorations is as valid today as it was in 1946. Our prime Minister has set a high store by our ancient and rich cultural heritage, and has taken several steps to revive the glory of the past. We can trust that the Government of India would take note of the primary need to collect and conserve the most authentic part of our heritage, the inscriptions, without which the true history of our people cannot be compiled. It is, indeed, yet to be for many regions of the country.

The Department has collected over 85,000 estampages of inscriptions scattered all over India in all the regional languages, besides Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. But exploration and listing of inscriptions has still to be done intensively, especially in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. New finds are also reported from other States like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. Almost all the states have organised their own Department of Archaeology with field staff in the districts to bring to light new archaeological and epigraphic finds. Many registered societies and voluntary organisations are functioning besides. The proliferation of these agencies brings, in its wake, problems of coordination and consolidation of data. A sub-committee of the Planning Group on Art and Culture in the Ministries of Planning and Culture, which I had then the privilege to chair has recommended a network of

three-tier information system - voluntary agencies reporting to the State Department of Archaeology. The Department will add its own listed inscriptions and send an annual list to the Epigraphist Department of the Government of India, which will be the Central agency to consolidate and publish the lists for all India. So too, the estampages and the texts of inscriptions together will be collected by the State Department of which it will furnish a duplicate set to the Central Epigraphist Department to consolidate and publish the gists there of in the annual reports. Even if the State Departments or other agencies have their own publications, there should be a cross-referencing in the Epigraphist Department's publication series.

The listing should include the Sanskrit, Tamil and Prakrit inscriptions in overseas countries like Sri Lanka, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Vietnam and China, besides the Trans-Himalayan regions in the U.S.S.R. and in Afghanistan and Pakistan. These are indispensable for an indepth study of India's contact with the surrounding areas in the continent and the Far East. The corpus of the inscriptions overseas could also be brought together in one or more volumes.

It is gratifying to note that the annual reports have been published upto 1977-78. The remaining backlog for over 8 years persists. The sooner this is liquidated the greater will be the source-data available for historiographical analysis.

The most pressing problem is the publication of the texts. Of the 85,000 inscriptions listed in the Annual Reports, only about 15,000 have been so far published. Some more are in the press. The backlog is formidable. Only inscriptions collected upto 1909 have been published, more are in the Press. Inscriptions copied in 78 years thereafter are still not edited and printed. This is frought with serious consequences.

The estampages are already 78 years old. Many of them are the only available copies of the inscriptions. In the last 100 years temples have become dilapidated, structures had been pulled down for renovation. Stones have been dislodged, removed or lost. In remote villages sculptures and stones have been the victims of art piracy abetted by thefts and pilferage. It is no longer possible to replace the estampages of the inscriptions lost for ever. Also due to age some of them, however carefully preserved could crumble or be misplaced or disarranged. In the absence of the original inscriptions, and their estampages, we have to rest content with the brief abstract notice in the Annual Report, without any means of checking it or of obtaining essential details.

The ideal method would have been for the field copying staff to transcribe the texts and cross-check them with the eye-copy and with the topo-details of location of each. In the beginning of the century - even upto the forties - when the inscriptions were copied, the local idiom, the authentic rural usage of agricultural, agrarian and tenurial terms, the local measurements, and their units, and the arithmetical system of the land were all in vogue. The early epigraphists could

get at the retained memory of the indigenous and agrarian usage. Unfortunately with a gap of two or three generations, the deciphering staff at the desk at this distance of time, devoid of these aids are placed at a great disadvantage. The scribe uses symbols or for numerals, or for denoting coins on area measurements and contractions for many others, the field *ayacut* (command area) divisions (*Kaṇṇar, Śadukkam, Pāḍagam*). Some of these symbols signify several values, which could have to be distinguished from the context. The use of the symbol or contraction was as natural to them because the contemporary knowledge was only too familiar with it as it is bewildering to us.

As a result, some texts, as a whole, and in others the crucial operative parts of the inscriptions are apt to be left blank. The transcriptions could suffer from inaccuracy, and corruption. I have found these deficiencies in some of the texts published by some agencies. The premier organisation of the Epigraphist Department, with its supreme stress on quality, fidelity and accuracy endeavour to steer clear of these possible deficiencies. They have to guard against these by conscious and systematic training which I have stressed below.

Printing too, poses problem. Over the years even the State Government Presses which printed the *South Indian Inscription volumes,* have become depleted in the requisite types and letters, especially for scripts like Tamil-Grantha and Nāgarī for Sanskrit inscriptions. Either the script has fallen into disuse or the school curricula do not provide for its learning. Proof readers are even more scarce. The difficulties will only get aggravated in future.

It is imperative that the transcription and the critical edition and publication of inscriptions are done on a vigorous and systematic basis. Even a phased programme for publishing the texts at 10,000 per year will take seven years to cover the backlog alone. Meanwhile the current collections at the rate of 500 per year will also need to be transcribed and edited then and there, to avoid a further build up of backlog.

In this context I should pay a tribute to the Government of Karnataka and the Mysore University and Dr. B R Gopal for the excellent re-editions of the *Epigraphia Carnatica,* nine volumes of which have been published in the last few years.

It is necessary to bring out a parallel series for publishing inscriptions from the Northern States - North Indian Inscriptions. Sanskrit, Prakrit and the local dialects are now getting scarcer attention. The late Dr. D C Sircar whom I met, before his demise, wept that there are no adequate epigraphists with training in deciphering Sanskrit inscriptions.

The Department's prestigious publication of the *Epigraphia Indica* is also in arrears, as the Government Press is not able to cope with the high-quality technical work involved.

It is necessary to take corrective steps, organizational expansion, and systems-remedies. The Epigraphist Department's circle offices, outlined earlier can help tackle a larger volume of editing, comparing and proof-reading and printing of

inscriptions. Secondly, the available capacity of the State Government Presses and the Central Government Press should be harnessed in full. Specific items of printing could be entrusted to private agencies if any additional capacity is needed, in view of the priority attached to the work.

Recognising this need, the Seventh plan has treated the printing and publication of the Inscriptions as a Plan scheme and an adequate provision has been made. Under its energetic and capable Director, Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the Department is seized of the urgency and importance of this work and pushing through the work ; despite the unrelieved shortage of staff.

The older volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica,* the *South Indian Inscriptions* and the *Annual Reports* are a mine of information, and have to be reprinted. This is best done by the photo-offset process. The Department can have a Press for its own special and technical work, as the volume will justify it. Mechanical aids like word-processors, photo-copying machines and latest state-of-the-arts office equipment, if provided, would greatly facilitate a speedier completion of the tasks.

The recent Pay Commission's recommendations could also help alleviate in some measure the real hardship to this highly qualified and specialised staff. I have been, in my own humble way, contributing my mite to help the Department in its dedicated work, when I was in the State Government and in the Centre. But more remains to be done.

The requirements noticed by Prof. Sastri in 1946, have been only partially fulfilled through the several steps taken. We have to persist in these measures until the set objectives are fully realised.

I now turn to the substantive part of the discipline. Naturally, my observations are drawn from the *South Indian Inscriptions* which are my field of specialisation. Every scholar acquainted with inscriptions knows that there are two distinct parts of the inscriptions. The first is the formal part giving the *Praśasti* or *meykirti* of the rulers, the names of the rulers and the regnal year in which the grant was made. Some of these *praśastis* are valuable because they consciously update the achievments of the rulers from time to time. This enables us to fix the data of particular historical events. This part of the inscriptions has received closer attention both from the historians and the epigraphists in the last 100 years. It is natural, indeed essential. Without such a study a chronological frame of the political history of the tract cannot emerge. If we now have a fairly well-settled dynastic history for the different tracts, we owe it to this pioneer study.

But the inscriptions are not primarily meant to merely record this formal part of it. Some of the inscriptions consciously slur over this part by using the phrase "*meykīrtikku mēl*" without giving the full text of the *meykīrti* itself. The second part is the more important because it gives the subtantive purport of the deed-the conveyance of a grant or the terms of the occupancy or tenancy attached to the land and the shared interests in their different proportions from out of the yield of the land. A systematic study of the second part of the inscriptions will throw a flood of light

on the economic and social conditions and the structure and organisation of the community at the time. This part of the work is yet to be accomplished in full though a broad framework already available will bear revision, and certainly, amplification. But it is not easy to interpret this part of the inscriptions for varied reasons. Here again Prof. K.A.N. Sastri may be quoted :

> "The criticism (that the political history has received primary importance) whatever its validity at other times appears to be somewhat inopportune at the present moment because it is yet too soon to turn our attention away from the study of political history. Any picture of social life, if it is to be of real significance, must have a firmly established chronology to fit into."[4]

While this statement had its validity when Prof. Sastri wrote it in 1929 enough work has been done subsequently by the learned Professor himself, in the field of political history, his work on "*The Cōḷas* being the most outstanding contribution on the subject, and this political framework has been established fairly well, and Sastri himself showed the way for analysing the administrative and social life of the people in his book on "*The Cōḷas*" ; very little was done subsequently on this field. The reasons are not far to seek. Prof. Sastri, recognising the difficulties in the process of enquiry, has brought out two important points when he observed :

> (i) "In the inscriptions of South India are to be found many technical terms bearing on social, economic, military and administrative matters. A correct understanding of these terms is an essential preliminary to the reconstruction of social life of the period", and
>
> (ii) "the scientific study and interpretation of the South Indian history has not advanced far beyond the elementary stages. The temptation is very strong to forge ahead with sweeping conclusions drawn for stray facts without waiting for the chain of evidence to be completed".

It is time that we devote fuller attention to the deciphering of the inscriptions in these known areas of lacunae. In doing so, an epigraphist will have to acquire several primary requisites. First, the contemporary idiom of the language has to be mastered and their terminology, and etymology well understood. It will be fatal to import into the medieval usages the modern sense the words have come to acquire over the ages. *Piśāṇam,* for instance, is a term which denotes the main paddy crop raised. It occurs in Rājarāja's inscriptions not to go beyond. It is derived from a variety of paddy called *piśāṇam* a long term variety of paddy grown to synchronise with the normal north-east monsoon in the South.[5] Of late, attempts have been made to connect it with "*Paśāṇam*" or irrigation. The *Piśāṇam* crop is not only grown in the irrigated areas, but also in the rain-fed tracts as well. Secondly, one has to acquire a thorugh proficiency in the linear and liquid measurements of the times, and also the mode of calculations prevalent at that time. There is for instance, a work called '*Kaṇakkadikāram*' though perhaps compiled late by one Karipulavar of Sirkali, in verses. It still gives an insight into the methodology of the pre-British modes of arithmetical calculations. This is parti-

cularly important in the context of unravelling the linear or area measurements given in the inscriptions. After the laborious and pain-staking efforts of Hultzsch given in the footnote to Volume–II[6] of the *South Indian Inscriptions* while editing Thanjavur inscriptions, there has not been further detailed study of this aspect, to my knowledge.

Thirdly, a glossary of the contractions or the abbreviations used for the denominations of cash, for area measures or linear measures should be compiled. The same abbreviations had served more than one purpose or detonation: also the abbreviations could vary from tract to tract and certainly so with the languages of the inscriptions. It is important that we do not ignore these measures or these details of location and measurements, and topo-details which are essential for reconstructing the cadastral structure of the township and the agrarian system.

Fourthly, for lack of attention to such details the most vital part and fascinating part of the inscriptions are apt to be missed. Many of the South Indian Inscriptions give details of the terms of occupancy or tenancy of the varied scales of dues payable to the State or to its assignees (*varisai*). Latterly for lack of sustained interest in the numerals or because the estampages were not clear because of age, much of data in numerals are apt to be left blank or are not adequately accurately transcribed.

Fifthly, even the earlier epigraphist has sometimes been affected by a tedium. When a number of signatories are found at the end of the inscriptions they had merely noted in their original transcriptions the number of signatories that follow. Here again I would submit that the full details of the signatories are an important mine of information. Where the signatories are royal officers, it helps us to connect the inscriptions to particular ruler or period if the identity of the royal officers who had subscribed to the documents could be established. Further the nativity of the royal officers who signed the various documents found in the different tracts would reveal whether there has been any pattern or system of deploying officers in parts of the kingdom or tracts other than the places of their nativity. It could even throw up why particular localities have contributed a larger contingent of the officialdom.

The names of various signatories representing the different organisations like the *śabha*, the *ūr*, the *nāḍu* and the *nagaram*, also yield a lot of information on the nativity of the persons who subscribed to the documents. Family histories could be compiled. The contributions made by successive generations of the original family of the donors who constructed the temple or those who made additions to it could also be gleaned from such proper names of the signatories.

We would indeed be missing a good part of the authentic data essential for reconstructing the social and economic history of the regions if we do not pay fuller attention to these aspects of the inscriptions. Let it not be forgotten that it is this substantive part of the inscriptions giving such full details that had really been of contemporary interest and that was

the motivation for recording documents on stone. We should prove true to the heritage of such lithic records. In fact some of the important inscriptions dealing with the agrarian conditions have been repeatedly recorded as in Maṉṉārguḍi in the same temple or in adjacent localities of different places, like Tirukkaḍugāvūr and Achalpuram or Perichchikōyil and Kaṇḍramāṇikkam. This repetition is a measure of the contemporary significance attached to the transactions recorded therein, and how vitally those transactions affected their life.

The points made above only underline the need for the thorough equipment for the epigraphist. It is as important for him to acquire mastery over the accumulated expertise of the eminent scholars of the past, but as to have the further investigational curiosity and equipment to verify, correct and interpret the terminology and the use of expressions in the inscriptions to accord with the original intentions of those who made the deed or subscribed to the transactions. This is an arduous task. It requires scholarly discipline. It requires a respect for tradition, but not an unquestioning respect, but tempered with the scientific spirit of interrogation.

The qualities enunciated above can be ensured only if a strong cadre of epigraphists is built up. We have some continuity of this cadre, but its strength is not enough. It will be necessary to build a much wider cadre of epigraphists all over the country. This pre-supposes specialisation. It is not possible for any one to deal with the inscriptions of all languages in which they are written all over the country. The cadre should have wings - one for Sanskrit and Prakrit and another for Kannaḍa, a third for Telugu, a fourth for Persian and Arabic, the fifth for Tamil and Malayāḷam, and so on.

Indeed, there should be as many wings as there are languages in which these inscriptions are inscribed. There should also be a correlation between the spoken language of the times and the inscriptional diction. For, very often they are complementary. A study of the Īḍu commentaries (13th and 14th centuries) on the Divya Prabhandha could unravel the meanings of the many of the terms used in the inscriptions. I am sure that a similar correlation of the language and the literature of each tract and inscriptional dictions could yield suggestion which is otherwise apt to be missed.

I would, therefore, conclude this address with an earnest appeal to the Government of India and to the State Governments to build up a cadre of epigraphists. **Perhaps the surest organisational method of building up the cadre is to constitute a separate Department of Epigraphy under a Director-General. The volume of work, and the wide range of operation will need it. With the expansion of field work and increase in the volume that are contemplated in the collection, transcription, editing and publication of the inscriptions and on merits, it will be fully justified if the Department is no longer tied to the apron strings of the Department of Archaeology.**

The Department of Archaeology has also expanded, and has its own intensive

work and excavations and studies to conduct. The Department of Epigraphy has come of age, and it can and should have its own specialisation, individuality, and free orbit of functioning. I would earnestly request the Government to give serious thought to this suggestion towards its early implementation.

I would submit that the epigraphists should aim at mastery of particular linguistic diction or scriptory modes which are used by the inscriptions of particular tract so that an intensive knowledge and expertise can be developed for each. Quality is important and nothing but the most authentic could or should satisfy the epigraphists. Such qualities, thoroughness and comprehensiveness and an earnest attempt to get at the true meaning or purport of the words used have been the characteristics of the pioneer of the epigraphists in the country, Hultzsch; and he was a beacon for generations to come. We should revive those standards. It is not the least part of the work to fully transcribe and interpret the contents of the inscriptions in its entirety, not ignoring any part of it and not leaving out of account any part as formal and not of consequence. To do so to repeat would be to lose consciously, shall I say, criminally the valuable leaves from the pages of the past. The best of all accounts of the past could only be a Palimpsest and the more we lose the details, the greater will be the void in it.

It behoves us, therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, to pay the fullest attention to get at the facts, the whole facts, and nothing but the facts that the inscriptions yield us. I am sure the Epigraphist Department and the noble but small band of scholars working in the field are fully alive to these desiderata. Some of the suggestions that had occurred to me would also appeal to fellow-scholars and friends in the field. If these are translated into action, the future of epigraphy will be assured, and the more assured it is, the greater is the scope for study and understanding of our own past better and fuller. A country like India with its long and rich heritage can ill-afford to lose any part of it, without being brought to light.

We should bend our energies to this task, and turn our mind on the still lurking and lingering blanks or gaps in the deciphering and interpretation of epigraphs. There is little time to lose in undertaking this task.

I thank you, once again, for the honour done to me and I trust that I have been of some assistance in defining the task before us. I am confident that it is a task which is well within our reach and grasp.

Notes :-

1. Artha-śāstra *ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Adhikaraṇa,* ch. 1, p. 45, T.S S.

2. *K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Chakravartikshētram,* K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, pp. 82 - 86

3. Indian History Congress, Nineth Session (1946), Presidential Address by K.A.N. Sastri, p. 29

4. Address by K.A.N. Sastri, *Journal of the* Madras University, (1929).

5. *Tamil Lexicon,* Vol. V, p. 2648 ; see also *Wilson's Glossary* (1940).

6. *SII.,* Vol. II, p. 66, f.n. 1 and p. 73.

1. THREE JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYAS OF ACCESSION 1250, 1277 and 1278.

N. Sethuraman

Extreme south of the Indian peninsula was the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. Madurai was its capital. In the course of 700 years, i.e. from 1000 to 1700 A.D., many Pāṇḍyan kings existed. They had only six names often repeated. They were Kulaśēkhara, Śrīvallabha, Vīra, Vikrama, Sundara and Parākrama. They had the titles either Jaṭāvarman or Māṟavarman. Kings with same or different names and with same or different titles ruled jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reign is common. The phenomenon is more prominent in the 13th and 14th centuries. Kielhorn (1906), Jacobi (1911), Swamikkannu Pillai (1913) and Robert Sewell (1915) identified some of the Pāṇḍya kings[1]. In my recent researches, I identified some more kings[2]. In this article I introduce three kings who had the same name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. They came to the throne in 1250, 1277, and 1278 A.D. respectively.

Kielhorn

Kielhorn consulted the astronomical data of the Pāṇḍyan records discovered upto 1903 and suggested the dates of some of the Pāṇḍya kings. His calculations are published in the *Epigraphia Indica* Volumes VI to IX (editions 1900 to 1907). Kielhorn was fully aware of the difficulties in the investigation of the Pāṇḍyan records. He was puzzled by the existence of the kings who had the same names and also ruled either jointly or concurrently. While winding up his discussions on the dates of the Pāṇḍya kings, Kielhorn, with abundant caution, said,

> "*How my results will fit into the history of the time to which the dates refer others may decide. I have been solely guided by the date and have not allowed myself to be influenced by other considerations.*"

This was a clear warning by Kielhorn. He expected that the further researchers would verify the dates in the context of the influence by other considerations. After eight decades his expectations have become true. *Later discoveries of inscriptions and the recent researches point out many revisions due to the influence by historicity, internal evidence and the application of the Indian calendar system.* Against this background, we shall discuss below the dates of three Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of the 13th century.

Kielhorn surmised that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I & II came to the throne in 1251 and 1276 A. D. respectively. As we shall see below, revised calculations influenced by historicity, internal evidence and the application of the Indian calendar system reveal that Sundara I came to the throne in 1250 and Sundara II in 1277 A.D. Revised calculations also help us in identifying another Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1278 A. D.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I

The Tamil *praśasti* of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I begins with the introduction *Pūmalar vaḷar*. His Grantha *praśasti* begins with the introduction *Samastha-jagad-ādhāra,* etc. The *praśastis* state that Sundara defeated the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati who ruled till 1264 A. D. and also the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara of accession 1233 A. D. In view of these victories Sundara adopted the epithet '*Emmaṇḍalamum Koṇḍaruḷia*' i.e., "*He who was pleased to take every country.*

The earliest records in which the above historical events are referred to are in year 7. In his later records Sundara claims to have killed the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Sōmēśvara whose records upto year 29 corresponding to 1262 A. D. are known. Historical events point out that Sundara existed in the middle of the 13th century. On this distinct understanding Kielhorn worked out the data furnished in the records of *Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya*. The records and the dates suggested by Kielhorn are tabulated below in Table A.

TABLE A

Serial No.	Record and Village	Details of date	Date suggested by Kielhorn
1	254/1894 Tiruvaiyāṟu	2, Mēsha, ba 11, Thursday, Śadayam (no epithet or *praśasti.*)	27th March 1253 A.D.
2	90/1895 Tirumaḷavāḍi	2, Mēsha, ba 4, Saturday, Mūla (no epithet or *praśasti)*	19th April, 1253 A.D.
3	89/1895 Tirumaḷavāḍi	2, Vṛiśchika, śu 6, Wednesday Uttirāḍam (no epithet or *praśasti*)	29th Oct. 1253 A.D.
4	166/1894 Tiruppanduruti	7, Kaṇṇi, ba 13, Sunday, Hasta-Tamil *praśasti, Pūmalar vaḷar*–The data are irregular. Kielhorn said that the month Kaṇṇi was a mistake for Tulā.	7th October, 1257 A.D.
5	188/1894 Tirukkaḷukkunṟam.	9, Ṛishabha, śu 5, Tuesday, Punarpūśam-Grantha *praśasti Samasta-Jagad-ādhāra.*	29th April, 1259 A.D.
6	186/1894 Tirukkaḷukkunṟam	9, Mithuna, ba 9, Sunday, Rēvati-epithet who took every country.	15th June 1259 A. D.

Serial No.	Record and Village	Details of date	Date suggested by Kielhorn
7	32/1891 Śrīraṅgam	10, Ṛishabha, ba 1, Wednesday Anurādhā - Grantha *praśasti Samasta - jagad – ādhāra*	28th April, 1260 A.D.
8	71/1895 Tirumaḻavāḍi	11, Kaṟkaṭaka, ba 6, Thursday Aśvati - no epithet or *praśasti* - Kielhorn said that Thursday was a mistake for Tuesday - see discussion below.	19th July, 1261 A.D.

Kielhorn applied the Christian calendar system and said that the records 1, 2 and 7 of the above table yielded,

27th March 1251 A.D. - Oth regnal year
19th April 1251 A.D. - Oth regnal year
28th April 1251 A.D. - 1st regnal year.

Thus Kielhorn came to the conclusion[3] that Jaṭāvarman Sundara I ascended the throne between the 20th and the 28th April 1251 A.D. This was accepted by all scholars including Sewell and Swamikkannu Pillai. We must note here that the records 1, 2 and 3 do not contain the *praśasti* or the epithet but indicate the accession in 1251. Records 5, 6 and 7 which contain either the *praśasti* or the epithet indicate the accession in 1250-51 A.D. No 4 is irregular which we shall see later. No. 8 is published in *South Indian Inscriptions,* Volume V, No. 628. The regnal year is 14 and not 11. It belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1318 and the data agree with the date 25th July 1331 A.D. (The record quotes the correct week-day Thursday).

Later discoveries of inscriptions which contain either the *praśasti* or the epithet confirm the accession in 1250 A.D. only. However, instead of revising the surmise of Kielhorn the then scholars suggested correcting the regnal years of the records. Again I repeat - Kielhorn himself warned the future researchers. His warning escaped their attention. Scholars took it for granted that the date proposed by Kielhorn was final. Therefore in order to justify the date proposed by him, the researchers corrected the regnal years of the records. This is wrong. We must accept and acknowledge the dates produced by the data of the records which contain the *praśasti* or the epithet. We have no right to correct the regnal year which represents historicity. The accession date should be proposed on the basis of the dates produced by the data of the records which contain either the *praśasti* or the epithet. Once this is done, the data of the other records can be tried. If they agree the records can be assigned to that king; otherwise we have to wait till we find another king of the same name. This sort of exercise is the only scientific approach which throws light on the truth. On the basis of this

understanding let us see the data of the records discovered after 1903. The records and their dates are tabulated below :

TABLE—B

Serial No.	Record and Village	Details of data	Date
1	259/1906 Narasamaṅgalam	7, Vṛiśchika, ba. 3, Monday Mṛigasira - Grantha *praśasti Samasta - jagad - ādhāra.*	6th Nov. 1256 A.D.
2	667/1909 Tiruneḍuṅkuḷam	8, Makara, śu. 10, Wednesday Rōhiṇi - Grantha *praśasti Samasta - jagad - ādhāra.*	16th Jan. 1258 A.D.
3	425/1913 Āragaḷūr	10, Mīna, śu. 13, Thursday, Makha - epithet who took every country. (Refers to the construction of a temple in the name of the elder brother Kulaśēkharadēva).	26th Feb. 1260 A.D.

The above three records contain either the *praśasti* or the epithet. The reverse calculations show that.

November	1250	–	1st regnal year
January	1250	–	0th regnal year
February	1250	–	0th regnal year

The dates prove that Sundara came to the throne between February and November 1250 A.D. Records No. 6 of Table A contains the epithet and its date indicates the accession between June and November 1250 A.D. In other words, the equations confirm that the king ascended the throne in the middle of 1250 A.D. only.

The above three records of Table B were also consulted by the earlier scholars. Swamikannu Pillai (1913) found the correct date 6th November 1256 A.D. for the Narasamaṅgalam record (259 / 1906). However he suggested[4] correcting the regnal year 7 as 6 because such a correction would satisfy the accession date 1251 A.D. which was surmised by Kielhorn. Sewell consulted the Tiruneḍuṅkuḷam record (667 / 1909) but abruptly left it because its data did not agree with the initial year 1251 A.D. suggested by Kielhorn[5]. Swamikannu Pillai found the correct date as 26th February 1260 A.D. for the Āragaḷūr record (425/1913) and said[6] that the date was two months short of the commencement

of the 10th year (!) He did not proceed further. Scholars found the correct dates but suggested correcting the regnal years of the records because they took it for granted that the accession date suggested by Kielhorn was final. They did not notice how Kielhorn himself cautioned and warned the future researchers. Kielhorn expected revisions in the future discoveries. Unfortunately it escaped the attention of the researchers. Kielhorn died in 1908. Eight decades have gone. Today, we the Epigraphists of 1987, have to scrutinise the records once again, afresh, on the distinct understanding that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I came to the throne in 1250 only because this date is confirmed by the data of his records which contain either the *Praśasti* or the epithet.

Let us see the first three records of Table A. None of them contains the *praśasti* or the epithet. The reverse calculations of the dates of these three records show that,

March	1251	A.D. =	Oth regnal year
April	1251	A.D. =	Oth regnal year
Nov.	1250	A.D. =	Oth regnal year

The reverse calculations do not agree with the correct accession date 1250 A.D. This shows that these three records belong to some other Sundara Pāṇḍya and they were mixed up. Actually they belong to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III of accession 1278 A.D. whom we shall see somewhere below. In the result these three records are removed from the list of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1250 A.D. (One could wonder as to how the data of these records produce the dates in 1253 A.D. very close to the accession date 1250 A.D. This is not impossible if it is remembered that the given data, without solar date, can produce dates three or four times in a century. The correct date is suggested on the basis of the regnal year and other considerations).

Tiruppanduruti record No. 4 of Table A (166/1894) contains the Tamil *praśasti*. The data are year 7, Kaṇṇi ba. 13, Sunday and Hasta. The data are irregular. There is calendrical error. In the month Kaṇṇi ba. 13 cannot join with star Hasta. Kielhorn found this mistake[7] and corrected the month Kaṇṇi as Tulā and suggested the date 7th October 1257 A.D. The correction was done in order to establish 1251 A.D. as the accession date. Now we have found that 1250 A.D. was the correct accession year. On this distinct understanding we must suggest correction for the calendrical error. In the present record the star Hasta was a mistake for Makha. With this correction the data produce the date 17th September 1256 A.D. The Tamil *praśasti* of this record supplies in detail the achievements and the success of Sundara Pāṇḍya in his various campaigns against Ceylon, Kēraḷa, Chḷōas, Telugu kings etc. Fittingly the same events are narrated in the Kuttālam record (432 of 1917) dated 9th November 1256 A.D. of his younger brother Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (of accession 1254 A.D.). The events are mentioned in the records of his elder brother Sundara Pāṇḍya dated in September and in the record of his younger brother Vīra Pāṇḍya dated in November. Internal evidence justifies the correction of star Hasta and Makha.

The are many records which bear the name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and also

supply the astronomical data. They do not contain either the *praśasti* or the epithet. However, the astronomical data of some of these records perfectly agree with the initial year 1250 A.D. Those records and their dates are tabulated below. They are assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

TABLE—C

Serial No.	Record No. and Village	Details of date	Date
1	175/1957 Ariyūr	7, Mithuna, śu. 7, Wednesday - Hasta.	20th June 1257 A.D.
2	338/1953 Śrīraṅgam	8, Mīna, śu. 15, Wednesday Hasta.	20th March 1258 A.D.
3	305/1909 Tirukkachchūr	8, Mithuna, ba. Monday Uttiraṭṭādi.	27th May 1258 A.D.
4	414/1908 Tiruviḻimiḻalai	9, Tulā, ba. 7, Sunday Pushya.	20th Oct. 1258 A.D.
5	303/1921 Araśarkōyil	9, Mīna, śu. 3, Wednesday Rēvatī.	26th Feb. 1259 A.D.
6	95/1947 Kīḻaiyūr	10, Ṛishabha, śu. 15, Tuesday Viśākha.	27th April 1260 A.D.
7	609/1971 Kaṇṇaṇūr	11, Tulā, śu. 8, Wednesday Tiruvōṇam.	13th Oct. 1260 A.D.
8	400/1896 Tirruvoṟṟiyūr	13, Siṁha, ba. 3, Friday Uttiraṭṭādi.	4th Aug. 1262 A.D.
9	570/1920 Uḍayārkuḍi	15, Mēsha, śu. 7, Wednesday - Puṇarpūśam.	25th March 1265 A.D.
10	Pd 350 Maḍattukōyil	17, Mithuna, śu. 10, Friday Svāti.	3rd June 1267 A.D.
11	189/1930 Kuṇṇattūr	18, Kaṟkaṭaka, ba. 6, Monday - Rēvatī. (A lady devotee who figures in this record also figures in the same temple record 196 of 1930 of Kōpperuñjiṅga, year 17 dated 1260 A.D.)	2nd July 1268 A.D.

On the basis of the Kuṉṉattūr record (189 of 1930) the star Rēvatī in Kaṟkaṭaka in 1250 A.D. falls in the Oth year. The star was current on 21st July A.D. On the basis of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr record (400 of 1896), the star Uttiraṭṭādi in Simha of 1250 A.D. belongs to the 1st year. The star was current on 16th August.

21st July 1250 A.D. = Oth regnal year
16th August 1250 A.D. = 1st regnal year

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I came to the throne between the 22nd July and the 16th August 1250 A.D. The birth star of Sundara was Mūla.[8] Inscriptions and the Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍyakulōdaya* state that Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II (1237–66), Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238–55), Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya II (1250–65), Jaṭāvarman Sundara I of accession 1250 and Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (1254–65) were brothers. It is interesting to note here that in the history of Tamil Nadu this was the only occasion when two brothers (Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Sundara Pāṇḍya) came to the throne in the same year. Sundara Pāṇḍya gilded the Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam temples. In view of this munificient service he was called *Poṉmēynda Perumāḷ* (lord who gilded the temple).

His Tiruveṇkāḍu record (481 of 1918) is in year 32 corresponding to 1282 A. D. A record which comes from Idaiyāttūr (Pd. 364) belongs to his son Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1268 A.D. It is in the year 16 dated Sunday the 23rd April 1284 A.D. It states that a royal order (*tirumugam*) came from *Nāyanār* (father) Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva. In accordance with the order a service called *Sundara Pāṇḍyan Sandhi* was instituted in the temple in the name of Nāyanār Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva. It is evident that Sundara Pāṇḍya was alive in 1284 A.D. The available source materials show that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya ruled from 1250 to 1285 A.D. The historical events of his reign are known and so they are not discussed here.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II

Kielhorn surmised that the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II commenced between (approximately) the 13th September 1275 and the 15th May 1276 A. D. His calculations are reproduced below.[9] ("K" stands for Kielhorn).

TABLE D

K. No.	Village and Record No.	Details of date	Date
K 23	Tāramaṅgalam 24/1900 *S.I.I.* VII, No. 24	Year 13, Simha, śu. 13, Monday Uttirāḍam. The record states that the individual Nalluḍai-Appar is forming a new Brahmin colony *(vaikkira - agaram)* called Śrī Lakshmaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the name of his father. Certain lands irrigated by the tank Karaikuḷam are gifted to the Brahmins of the colony. There are six signatories and they figure in K 27 below.	1st August 1289 A.D.

K. No.	Village and Record No.	Details of date	Date
K 24	Tiruvoṟṟiyūr 400/1896 *S.I.I.* VI, No. 355	Year 13, Siṁha, ba. 3, Friday and Uttiraṭṭādi. Gift of tax-free lands for a *maṇḍapa* and for festivals.	5th August 1289 A.D.
K 25	Tāramaṅgalam 25/1900 *S.I.I.* VII, No. 25	Year 6, Kaṟkaṭaka, śu. 4, Monday and Uttiram. Lands were sold to the Brahmins of Śrī Lakshmaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which was found *(vaitha-agaram)* by Nalluḍai-Appar.	21st July 1281 A.D.
K 26	Maṉṉārguḍi 90/1897	Year 12, Kaṉṉi, śu. 13, Friday and Svāti (śu. 13 is a mistake for śu. 3).	12th Sept. 1287 A.D.
K 27	Tāramaṅgalam 23/1900 *S.I.I.* VII, No. 23	Year 15, Ṛishabha, śu. Pushya Monday. The record states that Nalluḍai–Appar is forming a new Brahmin colony *(vaikkira agaram)* called Śrī Lakshmaṇa–chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the name of his father. Certain lands irrigated by the lake Seyyaperumāḷ–ēri are gifted to the Brahmins of the colony. Six signatories of K 23 also figure here.	15th May 1290 A.D.

Kielhorn (1901) wrote thus :[10] "The difficulty presented by the five dates No. 23 to 27 is this ; that while according to the three dates 25, 26, 27 the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara II would have commenced between approximately 13th September 1275 and 15th May 1276 A.D. by the two dates Nos. 23 and 24 which are both of the 13th year, it could not have commenced before approximately 6th August 1276 A.D. I can reconcile this discrepancy only by the assumption that in the dates Nos. 23 and 24 the 13th year has been wrongly quoted instead of year opposite the 13th i.e. the 14th year, an assumption which would make the king's reign commence between (approximately) the 13th September 1275 and 15th May 1276 A.D. as suggested by the dates 25, 26, 27."

Kielhorn assumed that in the records K 23 and K 24 the 13th year was wrongly quoted instead of 14. Sewell continued the research. His arguments are really interesting. His paper was published in *Epigraphia Indica*, volume X (edition 1910.) Sewell said "*the exact date of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II is still under dispute and must for the present remain so*". In 1911

he published a long article in *Epigraphia Indica* Volume XI and admitted that he could not arrive at any conclusive decision.

Let us see the dates proposed by Kielhorn. According to K 25 year 6 dated 1281A.D. the Brahmin colony Śrī Lakshmaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam was founded by Nalluḍai Appar. But K 23 year 13 dated 1289 and K 27 year 15 dated 1290 A.D. state that the Brahmin colony Śrī Lakshmaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is being formed by Nalluḍai Appar. The Colony is under construction. A colony which was founded prior to 1281 A.D. cannot be under construction in 1289 and 1290 A.D. The internal evidence proves that Sundara's whose 13th and 14th years are quoted are different kings. Their dates are very close. In their reigns a colony was under construction. Sundara Pāṇḍya whose 6th year is quoted is a later king and he refers to the colony founded in the earlier days. Evidently the three records belong to three different Sundara Pāṇḍyas.

Recent research[11] shows that K 23 belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāma of birth star Pushya of accession 1304 A.D. and it is dated 2nd August 1316 A.D. K 27 belongs to his uncle Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1303 A.D. and it is dated 16th May 1317 A.D. K 26 also belongs to him and it is dated 13th September 1314 A.D. This Sundara Pāṇḍya was the son of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1268 A.D. K 24 belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I of accession 1250 and it is included in Table C. K 25 belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1330 and it is dated 24th July 1335 A.D.

It is evident that there was no Sundara with the accession date 1275-76 A.D. In the year 1916 Swamikannu Pillai proved[12] that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II came to the throne in February - March 1277. His calculations are correct. He relied on the records which quoted the cyclic years (Curiously Sastry rejected the surmise of Swamikkannu Pillai. He relied on Kielhorn whose Sundara of 1275-76 A.D. never existed. In order to substantiate his statement, Sastri quoted *Epigraphia Indica,* volume X (edttion 1910) where Sewell had clearly stated that the exact date of Sundara II was doubtful).[13]

The surmise of Swamikannu Pillai was correct. We have to follow in his footsteps and we shall do it now. The following records belong to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II. They quote cyclic years and confirm the accession in 1277 A.D. All of them come from Nandalūr (Andhra Pradesh).[14]

TABLE—E Nandalūr Records

Serial No.	Record and Village	Details of date	Date
1	614/1907	9, Pārthiva	1285–86 A.D.
2	591 and 593/ 1907	10, Vyaya	1286–87 A.D,

Serial No.	Record No.	Details of date	Date
3	592/1907	10, Vyaya, Tulā, śu. 12, Sadayam, Monday.	30th Sept. 1286 A.D.
4	590/1907	13, Virōdhi, Kuṁbha, śu. 10, Punarvasu, Monday.	20th Feb. 1290 A.D.
5	588/1907	17, Nandana, Mīna, śu. 10 Pushya, Wednesday.	18th March 1293 A.D.
6	594/1907	17, Nandana, Mīna, śu. 5, Rōhiṇi, Saturday,	14th March 1293 A.D.

On the basis of No. 4, the star Punarvasu in Kuṁbha in 1277 A.D. belongs to the Oth year. The star was current on 15th February. On the basis of No. 6 the star Rōhiṇi in Mīna in 1277 A.D. belongs to the first year. The star was current on 11th March.

15th February 1277 A.D. - Oth regnal year

11th March 1277 A.D. - 1st regnal year

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II came to the throne between the 16th February and the 11th March 1277 A.D. Records which bear the name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya are many. The data of some of these records agree with the initial date February-March 1277. Those records are assigned to Sundara II and they are tabulated below.

BLE F

Serial No.	Record No.	Details of date	Date
1	168/1925 Paraśalūr	5, Kuṁbha, ba. 3, Uttiram, Friday.	7th Feb. 1281 A.D.
2	311/1927 Uḍaiyāḷūr	7, Mīna, śu. 1, Monday Uttirāḍam (mistake for Uttiraṭṭādi).	1st March 1283 A.D.
3	114 & 115-1911 (*ARSIE.*, 1921-22, p. 92) Valivalam.	7, Makara, śu. 10 Aśvati, Wednesday.	29th Dec. 1283 A.D.
4	171A/1940 Narasamaṅgalam	7, Vṛiśchika, ba. 2, Mṛigaśira, Monday.	8th Nov. 1283 A.D.

Serial No.	Record No.	Details of date	Date
5	68/1911 Śrīvañjiam.	10, Mithuna, śu. 4, Pūśam, Tuesday.	28th May 1286 A.D.
6	155/1926 Kachanam	10, Dhanus, śu. Aśvati, Wednesday.	25th Dec. 1286 A.D.
7	591/1963 Tiruvāymūr	11, Simha, ba. 12, Punarpūśam, Thursday.	7th Aug. 1287 A.D.
8	518/1904 Tēvūr	11, Vṛiśchika, ba. 6, Pūśam, Wednesday.	29th Oct. 1287 A. D.
9	308/1914 Tiruvaraṅkuḷam	12, Mēsha, śu. 13, Rōhiṇi, Monday (śu. 13 mistake for śu. 3.	5th April 1288 A. D.
10	432/1913 Āragaḷūr	13, Mithuna, śu. 13, Anurādha, Friday	3rd June 1289 A.D.
11	89/1936 Māraṅgiyūr	13, Dhanus, śu. 6, Pūraṭṭādi, Monday.	19th Dec. 1289 A.D.
12	315/1909 Tirukkachchūr	13, Kumbha, śu. 5, Aśvati, Wednesday.	15th Feb. 1290 A.D.
13	305/1921 Araśarkōyil	15, Simha, ba. 7, Rōhiṇi, Saturday	18th Aug. 1291 A.D.
14	115/1933 Mahābalipuram	16, Mithuna, śu. 2, Pūśam Wednesday	18th June 1292 A.D.
15	26/1911 Valapuram	18, Mēsha, śu. 5, Rōhiṇi, Thursday.	1st April 1294 A.D.

On the basis of the Paraśalūr record (315 of 1909) the star Uttiram in Kumbha in 1277 A.D. belongs to the first year. The star was current on 20th February.

20th February 1277 A.D. - 1st year

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II came to the throne between the 16th and the 20th February 1277 A.D. As per Table F his existence upto 1294 A.D. is know. It is to be noted with interest here that Sundara II is identified because of the Nandalūr records which quote the cyclic years. Those records indicate the accession of the king in February-March 1277 A.D. The data of the records in Table 'F' sail

along with the main current and agree with the initial date February-March 1277 A.D. Sundara II has no *praśasti* or epithet. In the circumstances we are unable to identify his other records. Astronomical data alone confirm the existence of the king. As per Table F his existence up to 1294 A.D. is known. He would have lived for some more time. For want of source materials and confirmation we will assume for the present that Sundara II ruled from 1277 A.D. to 1294 A.D. The presence of his records at Nandalūr in Andhra Pradesh suggests that Sundara II should have played some vital role in expanding the Pāṇḍya empire up to the southern boundaries of Andhra. In what way he did it we have no knowledge. His role in the political arena of the then period is also not known.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II

The record No. 379 of 1929 A.D. coming from Tiruppālaivanam in Chingleput district of the traditional Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The data are year 14, Āṇi 8, Sunday and Makha. The Report 1928-29, p. 53 assigns this record to Sundara I of accession 1250 A.D. and suggests the date Sunday the 1st June 1264 A.D. At the same time the report accepts that the solar date was Āṇi 7th and not 8th. The date suggested by the report is not acceptable. We should not correct the solar day. The same report in p. 72 assigns this record to Sundara II of accession 1277 A.D. and suggests the date Sunday, the 1st June 1291 A.D. Nobody verified the correctness of this date. Ist June 1291 A.D. was a Friday on which date star the Pushya was current and the solar date was Āṇi 6th and not 8th.

Let us see this record afresh with an open mind. The inscription of the Pāṇḍya king is found in the centre of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam where the Pāṇḍyas exercised their authority in the period 1250 to 1371 A.D. In the course of these 121 years the data Tamil solar month Āṇi, 8th solar day, Sunday and Makha agree with Sunday the 3rd June 1291 A.D. only thanks to the solar day which indicates the existence of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III of accession 1278 A.D. The following records agree with the initial year 1278 A.D. and they are assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III.

The Tiruvaiyāṟu record of 1894 A.D. (*S.I.I.* V, 553) belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. It states that an individual Mallāṇḍān *alias* Śērakōṇ, the chief of Pāmbuṇi Kūṟam in Suddhamalli-vaḷanāḍu gifted lands to the Tiruvaiyāṟu temple for burning lamps *(dīpamālai)* put up at the sacred entrance of the Tiruvaiyāṟu temple. The data year 2, Mēsha, ba 11, Thursday and Śadaiyam perfectly agree with 28th March 1280 A.D.

The village Tirumaḷavāḍi is 20 kilometers north of the above Tiruvaiyāṟu village. The Tirumaḷavāḍi record 90 of 1895 A.D. (*S.I.I.* V, 650) belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. It states that the individual of the previous record gifted lands for burning lamps *(dīpamālai)* put up at the sacred entrance of the Tirumaḷavāḍi temple. The wordings of the Tiruvaiyāṟu and the Tirumaḷavāḍi records are same. The data of the Tirumaḷavāḍi record year 2, Mēsha, ba 4, Saturday and Mūlam agree with 20th April 1280 A.D.

Māḍambākkam record 322 of 1911 belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. It quotes the 15th year of Kōpperuñjiṅga of accession 1243 A.D. The data year 10, Ṛishabha, śu 11, Sunday and Svāti agree with 25th May 1287 A.D.

On the basis of 254 of 1894 the star Sadaiyam in Mēsha of 1278 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 18th April. On the basis of 322 of 1911 the star Svāti in Ṛishabha of 1278 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 6th May. The king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III came to the throne between the 19th April and the 6th May 1278 A.D. On the basis of this initial date, the following records are assigned to him.

No. and Village Record	Details of date	Date
179 & 180 of 1939 Tiruppaṅgaḷi	2, Vṛiśchika, śu 11, mistake for ba. 11, Wednesday, Uttiram.	1st Nov. 1279 A.D.
Pd 344 Kaḷatūr	2, Mīna, śu. 10, Tuesday.	12th March 1280 A.D.
254/1894 Tiruvaiyāṟu	2, Mēsha, ba. 11, Thursday, Śadaiyam.	28th March 1280 A.D.
90/1895 Tirumaḻavāḍi	2, Mēsha, ba. 4, Saturday, Mūlam.	20th April 1280 A.D.
130/1929 Lālguḍi	3, Dhanus, ba. 4, mistake for ba 14, Saturday, Mūla.	21st December 1280 A.D.
31/1920 Tirumaḻavāḍi	3, Vṛiśchika ba. 2, Saturday, Rōhiṇi	9th November 1280 A.D.
209/1923 Tiruppulivaṇam	5, Mīna, śu. 3, Rēvati and Tuesday	2nd March 1283 A.D.
173/1926 Pamani	6, Siṁha, ba. 12, Saturday Pūśam,	21st August 1283 A.D.
322/1911 Māḍambākkam	10, Ṛishabha, śu. 11, Sunday, Sāvti.	25th May 1287 A.D.
376/1929 Tiruppālaivaṇam	14, Āṇi 8, Sunday, Makha.	3rd June 1291 A.D.
529/1920 Kāṭṭumaṇṇarkōyil	24, Makara, ba. 11, Tuesday Anurādha.	26th December 1301 A.D.

The existence of Sundara III of accession 1278 A.D. is indicated by the solar day of the Tiruppālaivaṉam record. All the twelve records of the above Table G agree with the initial date 1278 A.D. only. They do not produce dates in the reigns of other known Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of accession 1250, 1277, 1303, 1304, 1318, 1329 and 1330 A.D. The internal evidence in the Tiruvaiyāṟu and Tirumaḻavāḍi records dated 28th March and 20th April 1280 A.D. respectively also support the surmise.

The record No. 129 of 1929 coming from Lālguḍi belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya year 3, dated Mārgaḻi 25th. It records the gift of lands to the temple. The record No. 130 of 1929 (Table G) engraved by the side of the above record is dated 21st December 1280 A.D. In Tamil, it corresponds to the 26th solar day of the same month Mārgaḻi. The record states in details the boundaries of the lands gifted in the previous record. It means that in the 3rd year of the king on the 25th day of the Tamil solar month Mārgaḻi, lands were gifted. On the next day (26th of Mārgaḻi) the details of the boundaries of the lands were recorded[15]. Internal evidence supports our surmise in proposing the existence of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III of accession 1278 A.D.

Sundara III has no *praśasti* or epithet. In the circumstances we are unable to identify his other records. His Kāṭṭu-maṉṉārkōyil record is dated 1301 A.D. Perhaps that was his last date. Under the circumstances we may conclude that Jaṭā-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya III ruled from 1278 to 1301 A.D. His other activities in the political arena are not known.

Avaṉivēnda Rāman

Certain records state that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya had the surname *Avaṉi-vēnda Rāman* and that his birth star was Uttiraṭṭādi. Those records are tabulated below.

Village	Record No.	Regnal year
1. Kalliḍaikuṟichchi	*S.I.I.* XXIII 105	6
2. Śrī Raṅgam	*S.I.I.* XXIV 206	3
3. Tiṭṭai	149/1934	21
4. Paḻaṉi	301/1956	23
5. Avināśi	196/1909	lost

The report 1948/49 p. 2, surmises that Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II of accession 1277 was called Avaṉivēnda Rāman and his natal star was Uttiraṭṭādi. In the present state of our knowledge of the source materials, we cannot say to whom the surname belonged and also the star Uttirāṭṭādi. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I of accession

1250 A.D. was born in star Mūla. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya V of accession 1304 A. D. was born in the star Pushya. In between these two kings, Sundara II of accession 1277, Sundara III of accession 1278 and Sundara IV of accession 1303 A.D. existed. One of them could have been called Avaṇivēnda Rāman.

The records of Sundara II and III are available outside the traditional Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam area. They are found in the districts of Thañjāvūr, Tiruchy, North Arcot, Chengleput etc. Whereas the records which bear the name Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and also the surname *Avaṇivēnda Rāman* with natal star Uttiraṭṭādi are available in Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam, Koṅgu-maṇḍalam and also Chōḷa-maṇḍalam with the highest regnal year 23. The records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya IV of accession 1303 are available in the same area and he ruled for 23 years. In the circumstances, for the present, we can surmise that *Avaṇivēnda Rāman* was the surname of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1303 A.D. and his natal star was Uttiraṭṭādi. Of course this is subject to confirmation by later discoveries of inscriptions. (The eastern *gōpura* of the Madurai Mīnākshi Amman temple is called Sundara Pāṇḍyan *alias* Avaṇivēnda Rāman gōpuram).

Note :

In the 13th and 14th centuries there were many Pāṇḍya kings. Some had the same name Sundara Pāṇḍya. For easy reference their dates and reigns are given below.[16]

Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I	—	1216–1241	A. D.
Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II	—	1238–1255	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I	—	1250–1284	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II	—	1277–1294	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III	—	1278–1301	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya IV	—	1303–1325	A. D.
Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III	—	1303–1322	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya V	—	1304–1319	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Rāja Rājan Sundara Pāṇḍya	—	1310–1332	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya VI	—	1318–1342	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya VII	—	1329–1342	A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya VIII	—	1330–1347	A. D.

Notes :-

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. IV to XI ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1913 August and 1915 November ; L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai ; *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part II.

2. N. Sethuraman ; *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas ; The Medieval Pāṇḍyas ; JESI.*, Vols. IX to XII.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 306 - 308.
4. Ind. Ant., 1913 August, p. 169.
5. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XI, p. 258.
6. *ARSIE.*, 1914, p. 64.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 307
8. N. Sethuraman - *The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 310 - 312
10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 312
11. N. Sethuraman, Two Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of accession 1303 and 1304 *JESI.*, Vol. X, pp. 15 ff. Five Pāṇḍya kings of the 14th century - *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 47 ff.
12. *ARSIE.*, 1916, p. 97 - please refer to the disscussions made in the foot note.
13. K. A. N. Sastri. *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, 1972, p. 166.
14. The full texts of the records are published in the *SII.*, Vol. XXIII
15. I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, who was kind enough to send the transcripts of the records.
16. As in note 2 above.

2. SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN CHANDELLA CHARTERS

K. K. Shah

The Chandēllas ruled a fairly large kingdom in the heartland of the Indian subcontinent for about four centuries commencing their career about the beginning of the tenth and continuing with many ups and downs till the first decade of the fourteenth. The land-charters they issued to religious as well as secular beneficiaries are well-known and well-researched into but primarily for the purpose of reconstructing their political history.[1] No doubt, S, K. Mitra has devoted a chapter of his book—*The Early Rulers of Khajurāho*—to the description of contemporary society[2] but the subject was secondary in his scheme and he based his observations chiefly on stone and rock inscriptions whereas we propose to confine ourselves exclusively to land-records and examine the data contained therein. As a matter of fact, none of the stone and rock inscriptions refers to social classes divided on the basis of occupation, authority or status and offering us theryby a picture of social hierarchy. The documents dealing with land, on the other hand, do mention, in majority of cases, the classes into which the contemporary society was divided, and so, noticing as well as analysing the relevant data is the aim of this paper.

It is interesting to note that the practice of reading the rural society in terms of classes irrespective of their theoretical status originated only under the Chandēllas. Prior to their arrival on the stage of Indian history, the rural society hardly figures in Central Indian land-charters, to say nothing of the sections into which it was definitely divided. Earliest among the pre-Chandēlla powers in the area were the Parivrājakas, of whom some land-grants have come to light. *Mahārāja* Hastin, the first-known ruling lord of this line, issued a couple of grants in favour of Brāhmaṇic beneficiaries like the Jabalpur Plates[3] dated G.E. 170 and Navāgrāma grant[4] of G.E. 198, but in neither of these, a glimpse of the concerned rural society is available. It was perhaps taken for granted that all the people of the gifted village stood informed or notified without even a word by way of address to them. And as for the sections into which the society was compartmentalised, there was hardly any consciousness in the mind of the monarch.

Another pre-Chandēlla power to have ruled the region and left a land grant were the imperial Pratīhāras. Far removed in time from the Parivrājakas the only change, worth noting for our purpose, in their land-charter is the introduction of a phrase conveying the command of the king to the concerned village people, specifying their two-fold division into the official and non-official classes. To quote from the relevant record :

"*Valākāgrahārē samupagatān–sarvvān ēva yathāsthāna-Pratiniyukta-vāsinaś=cha samājñāpayati . . .*[5]"

Obviously by the Pratīhāra times a consciousness had dawned on the king that

the legal and technical nature of the document as well as transaction required the mention of the people to be notified and commanded. But as yet he thought of the village as a single society consisting merely of state officials and permanent residents, hardly viewing them in the theoretical light of *varṇa*-model or practical perspective of occupational groups.

Interestingly, even after the commencement of the Chandēlla rule whenever and whereever we come across a copperplate grant issued by the lesser Pratīhāra houses in the area, reference to the village society coupled with the royal command contained in the word '*samājñāpayati*' is lacking altogether or gets briefest mention as noticed above. In the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Plate of Harirāja[6] dated Vikrama 1040, the relevant expression in missing whereas the Kureṭhā grants of Malayavarman,[7] issued as late as Vikrama 1277, adopt a new phraseology viz.

"*Uktavāṁś cha rājā tad=grāma-nivāsinē mahattama-jānapadān yathā grāmō=yam= asmābhiḥ Vatsa-Haripāla brāhmaṇābhyām śāsanīkṛitya pradattā iti.*"

Thus here also, the headmen who were considered worthy enough to be mentioned for the purpose of address and social classification, which we have selected as the theme of the present paper and which is carefully recorded in Chandēlla-charters, is missing. Probably the drafting officer was guided by the texts of old imperial house or did not feel it necessary to refer to all the different occupational and caste groups by name. In any case, very rarely he was called upon to compose the charter as is evident from the few grants available covering a long period of about five centuries.

As a matter of fact, for long even the Chandēllas themselves did deem it necessary to insert an expression inside their grants where the chief social classes of the concerncd village were separately named for the purpose of notification. Dhaṅga is the earliest king[8] of whom a copper-plate has come to light from village Nanyaurā in District Hamirpur (U.P.) by which revenue income from Yulli village was assigned to *Bhaṭṭa* Śrī Yaśōdhara without making any reference to the people who were affected thereby.[9] Half a century later, a beginning seems to have been made in the direction, when Dēvavarmadēva, one of his successors, issued a charter classifying the concerned people into at least three sections. The relevant portion of the record,[10] found also from village Nanyaurā, has been thus worded:

"*Kathahau - grāmē nivāsi - Mahattama-Janapadān Brāhmṇ-ōttarān Rājapurushām's= cha cha bōdhayati . . . . . .*"

It is noteworthy that instead of commanding, which was the usual practice in such documents indicated by the word *samājñāpayati*, the king adopts an humbler tone, merely informing the subjects *(bōdhayati)*.[11] As regards the social classes mentioned, very few officials might be the actual residents in the village, so the reference to *rājapurushān* is intended to cover only those who were to deal regularly or periodically and directly or indirectly with its administration and collection of revenue. *Mahattara - Janapadān* stands for village headmen[12] and the word *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān* seems to have been selected

simply to cover the whole society down to the meanest man since, by now, the idea of brāhmaṇas heading the society was universally accepted and firmly rooted.[13] That even this brief mention of the affected village people had not acquired the customary character of legal and technical necessity becomes evident when we find the same sovereign issuing another charter within a year[14] and forgetting to phrase the text of the grant after the Nanyaurā record noticed above.

Augasi Copper Plate of Madanavarman is the first Chandēlla document in which the village society has been viewed in terms of social classes and separately named for the purpose of notification. The relevent portion of the record runs as follows :

" *Sūḍalī - viśhayāntaḥpāti–Vamharadā grām-ōpagatān kuṭumbi-kāyastha - Mahattār - ādīn śarvvān samājñāpayati....*"[15]

An altogether new expression has been invented and adopted. Interestingly the *Rājapurushān* of the earlier records are conspicuously missing and *Mahattama-Janapadān* are covered by *Mahattarādīn* if we are inclined to take the two words to be synonyms. It is also noteworthy that here they have been accorded the last position whereas in the Nanyaurā inscription they find the first place. The list here is topped by the *kuṭumbis* standing for peasant cultivators followed by the *kāyasthas* who, by now, had solidified into a caste forming a distinct group in the village society. What is most remarkable and passes comprehension also is that the brāhmaṇas do not find mention, which does not mean that they had ceased to head the society in the intervening period of eighty-two years or were passed over in silence owing to the drafting of a cunning *kāyastha* who invented the new expression referring prominently to his own class. Possibly, the comoser of the copper-plate had in mind the theoretical exemption of all brāhmaṇas from taxation[16] and since the plate was issued to ask the villagers to pay the state dues to the donee reference to brāhmaṇas appeared redundant.

Be that as it may, within two years the wrong was set right and the brāhmaṇas found themselves heading the list in tune with the idea of heading the society. Thc Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Plate of king Madanavarman dated V.S. 1192 restores them to their respectable position[17]. In fact, the two years intervening between the two inscriptions turn out to be most crucial in relation to the theme of our paper. There is tremendous change and unexpected as well as unprecedented enlargement in the expression conveying the command. The phraseology is so framed as to be completely clear and comprehensive. About half a dozen occupational groups are addressed by name, a few among them figuring for the first time. So runs the relevant sentence :

" *Brahmaṇān anyāmś=cha mānyān–adhikṛitān kuṭumbi – kāyastha – dūta – vaidya – mahattarān – Mēda – Chāṇḍāla – paryantān sarvvān saṁbōdhayati samājñāpayati ch=āstu.*

Evidently the brāhmaṇas as a class stood at the head of society in accordance with the *varṇa* – model of their own making. The adjective *anyām* separates them from other classes, the first among whom are state officials called here as *adhikṛitān* and quali-

fied by the epithet *mānyān*. In the third group comes the combination of *kuṭumbi – kāyastha – dūta – vaidya – mahattara*. The independent naming of *kuṭumbi – kāyastha* is merely a continuation of the practice already begun but that of *dūta – vaidya* indicates that though they were lower in rural social hierarchy to the classes already named but were important enough to be accommodated in an official document. *Mahattaras* whom we have taken to be headmen earlier but one wonders who could they be if not belonging to one or other of the foregoing classes. It is also not clear why they have been given a back seat if they were really heads of the hamlet, managing local matters. In this context the alternative meaning of the term–accountant and offered by A.K. Majumdar appears to be convincing.[18] If that is the case, they too, turn out to be a professional group like others.

The last two classes, also mentioned for the first time, are the *Mēdas* and the *Chāṇḍālas* governed by the adjective *paryanta* which leaves not even the shadow of doubt that they stood at the bottom of the social set–up. The fact is a *Chāṇḍāla* being outside the social pale is brought vividly home to us in an earlier copper–plate. The Charkhāri charter of Dēvavarmadēva uses his status to couch its curses. To quote the relevant verse :

"*Sva – dattāṁ para – dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām śvāna – yōni – śataṁ gatvā chāṇḍālēshu abhijāyatē.*[19]"

About the Mēdas we can not be sure since a contemporary text [20] mentions them as a Rājaput clan but most probably in Chandēlla charters, the Mēdas are an aboriginal tribe and either their number was large enough to warrant their inclusion in the list or they had metamorphosed by now into a professional group to be treated as a separate segment of the society. The fact that they have been mentioned here in association with the Chāṇḍālas shows that their position was hardly better and was lowest in the social scale. The adjective *paryanta* qualifying both of them clearly reflects that no group existed beyond them in the rural society of the time. It goes without saying that in between the *Mahattaras* and *Mēdas* there were some intermediate groups not named in the list, but existing nonetheless, and they stood covered by the twin adjectives *paryantān* and *sarvvān* at the tail – end. Thus here we have a fairly clear picture of the contemporary village society viewed not in terms of *varṇa* – status but in those of functional groups. Coming as it does, from contemporary official document, it must be closer to reality and so deserves our credence. Before we pass on to other charters it is necessary to note that this record of Madanavarman settle the technical phraseology in regard to the form of address once for all, as in times to come almost all Chandēlla charters repeat it *verbatim*.

Madanavarman was succeeded by his grandson Paramardidēva of whom the largest number of charters have come to light. His Semra Plates [21] dated V.S. 1223, Mahōda Plates [22] dated V.S. 1230, Pachar Plates [23] dated V.S. 1233, Charkhāri Charter [24] dated 1236 and Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Plates [25] of V.S. 1239 and 1247 address the concerned village people in terms that can be tallied word for word

with those discussed above. The form, so fixed, continued to be copied under the next ruler Trailōkyavarman also as is clear from hls Garrā [26] and Tehri [27] grants. Interestingly, his feudatories never took to the elaborate address and their charters finish the matter in the fewest words, hardly defining even a single group. In the Rēwah Copper Plate of *Mahārāṇakā* Kumārapāladēva the relevant portion reads :

"*Rēhi-grāma nivāsinaḥ samasta-prajā-lōkān=samājñāpayati bōdhayati cha*[28]" Likewise in the Rēwa record of *Harirājadēva Agasēyi-grāma - nivāsinaḥ prajā - lōkān = anyāṁś = cha samājñāpayati bōdhayati cha*[29]".

It seems that the composer of the text of these copper-plates was either unfamiliar with land-grants of the Chandēlla overlord or did not deem it necessary to define the affected people in so elaborate terms. Interestingly, in the only available charter of Trailōkyavarman's successor Vīravarmadēva *śarvvān* is replaced by *prajā-lōkān*[30] but in all other respects the address-part is an exact copy of the earlier Chandēlla grants.

By the time we come to the close of the Chandēlla rule, the lower section of the rural social structure seems to have improved their status in social hierarchy. The solitary charter of the last known king Hammīravarman found at Charkhāri with three of the earlier period, noticed above adds three now professional groups to our list. Thus runs the royal address to the people in the record :

"*Vēdēsaitha - vishayāntapāti - Kīkaḍa-grāmagatān brāhmaṇān=anyāṁś=cha māna-Kuṭumbi-Kāyastha - Nāpita-Mahara - Mēda-Dhīvara - Chāṇḍāla - paryantān bōdhayati samājñāpayati cha*"[31]

It seems the official class is here covered by *anyāṁś=cha* and *kuṭumbi-kāyastha* continue with their former prestige to be accorded the allotted place along with the Brāhmaṇas. What is most intriguing is that the *Dūtas* and *Vaidyas* are replaced here by *Nāpitas* and *Maharas* whereas *Dhīvaras* have grown worthy enough to be independently named though belonging to the lowest strata which is clear from the fact of their being sandwitched between the *Mēdas* and the *Chāṇḍālas*. One can not believe that the *Dūtas* and *Vaidyas* suddenly disappeared yielding place to the *Nāpitas* and *Maharas*. Barbers as a class must have existed earlier also but now their royal master recognised them as an independent social group. *Mahara* has been explained by D.C. Sircar[32] to be the same as *Mahattara* and might mean the headmen but its position after *Nāpita* does not warrant such an interpretation here. Possibly they were also an occupational group but the nature of their occupation can not be ascertained in our present state of knowledge.

Our survey shows that society had come to be classified into professional groups and was viewed as such, whatever the the theoretical arrangement in contemporary works. *Jāti*-model was working in actual practice to which even the royal commands were required to conform in official records. In the structure of society so emerging, the Brāhmaṇas belonged to the highest strata whereas *Kuṭumbi-Kāyastha* fell into the middle one. The lowest strata consisted of *Mēda-Dhīvara-Chāṇḍāla* though their royal master remembered and recognised their existence as part of the rural society.

Notes :

1. Bose, N. S. : *History of the Chandēllas*, K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1956.
   Mitra, S. K. : *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1958.
   Dikshit, R. K. : *The Chandēllas of Jejākabhukti*, Abhinava, New Delhi, 1977.
2. Chapter XII of his book is entitled 'Social and Economic Conditions' in which he describes contemporary society but nowhere distinguishes urban from the rural society which we propose to do on the basis of land-records. Secondly, he is guided chiefly by the *varṇa*-model of age-old *Dharmaśāstra* literature whereas we wish to confine ourselves strictly to the epigraphic material so as to reach the social reality of the times.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 264 ff.
4. Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 124 ff.
5. Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.
6. Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 309 ff.
7. Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 143 ff.
8. He occupies 8th place in the table of genealogy given by Dikshit, R. K. : Op. Cit. p. 181.
9. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, P. 201.
10. Ibid., p. 205.
11. From now onwards both the verbs become standard technical expression in Chandēlla Charters and figure invariable in available copper-plates.
12. Sircar, D.C : *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1966, p. 191.
13. The earliest epigraphic occurrence of the idea in Central India is available from Ēran Stone Pillar inscription of Budhagupta (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III (Revised), No. 39).
14. Charkhāri Copper Plate of Dēvavarmadēva, *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XX, pp. 125 ff.
15. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, P. 208.
16. Yadava, B.N.S. : *Society and Culture in Northern India*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1973, p. 300.
17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 118 ff.
18. *Concise History of Ancient India*, Vol. II, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1980, P. 163.
19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 128.
20. *Varṇa Ratnākara* cited by Yadava, B.N.S. : Op. Cit. p. 37.
21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 153 ff.
22. Ibid. Vol. XVI, p. 9 ff.

23. Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 44 ff.

24. Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 128 ff.

25. Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 118 ff.

26. Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 272 ff. It is noteworthy that of the two records found here the first mentions only the *Mahattaras*, the second gives the full text.

27. Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 70 ff.

28. *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 231 ff.

29. Ibid , p. 235 ff.

30. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 132 ff.

31. Ibid. pp. 134 ff.

32. Sircar, D. C., : *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 191.

3. SHERTALA KHAROSHTI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 39 OF THE KANISHKA ERA

B. N. MUKHERJEE

A. H. Dani discovered a Kharoshṭī inscription on a boulder at a spot on the main road leading from Idak to "the Shertala plain" in the North Waziristan district of N.W.F.P. (Pakistan). He also edited the text for the first time. [1] It was re-edited by R. Solomon. [2] As the readings of both the scholars leave scope for improvement, the epigraph is again edited here.

The inscription consists of six lines. Palaeographically the record may be to some extent compared with the Kurram casket inscription of the year 20.[3] We can specially note the developed trait of the letter *da*, triangular form of medial *u* (in certain cases) and the tendency of the right-hand angular feature of *pa* and *ka* to curve, forming nearly a semi-circle.[3] The language of the record is North-Western or Gāndhārī Prākrit, though the influence of Sanskrit is discernible in the genetive singular termination *sya* (instead of *sa*).

A.H. Dani seems to be almost correct in reading the first line as *Saṁ 20 [+] 10 [+] 4 [+] 4 [+]1 mase Avadunagasya,* though the expression *Saṁ* and the figure for the numeral 20 are not clear in the photograph published by him. He is also slightly wrong in reading the letter following *da* as a dental *na*. It is a cerebral *ṇa*. The second line is read by Dani as *di 10 [+] 3 atra divase bhaharasatisya pu (?)* and by R. Soloman as *di 10 [+] 1 [+] 1 [+] 1 atra divase bhāharakasya (pa)*. The reading *Bhāharakasya* is more acceptable than the other one. The slanting stroke near the base of *bha* can be taken as the sign for medial *a*, on the analogy of the similar use of such a stroke in Khāroshṭī documents from Chinese Central Asia.[5] We have a few other examples of the use of long vowel signs in Indian Kharoshṭī records. The fourth letter of the word concerned can be taken as *ka* if its form is compared with that of *ku* of *Kushāṇa* in line 3. But the last letter of line 2 cannot be deciphered as *pa* or *pu*, as the regular form of the letter *pa* is noticeable in lines 4 and 5.

The third line is read by Dani as *hi[la] Kushāṇasya daṇḍanayagasya aṇait [e]*. There is no doubt about the reading *Kushāṇasya dadanayagasya*, but the character preceeding *ku* seems to be *hi* or *ha* and there is no trace of a letter before the latter. In the light of this reading we may take the last letter of line 2 as a Doric *san*, which regularly appears in Kushāṇa coin-legends and Bactrian inscriptions. Perhaps for recording the correct pronunciation of the *śāhi* this letter was used. Most probably the author of the record thought that the letter *sha* (known to have been used to express the sound of the letter s) was not fit to convey the correct pronunciation. Since Kharoshṭī

was a hybrid script, there was nothing unusual in adopting a letter from another alphabet. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the expression *Śahi Kushāṇasya* is perfectly intelligible, meaning "of the king Kushāṇa" We can refer to the expression *Maharaja Gushaṇa* (= *Kushaṇa*) in the Panjtar inscription.[7] The king Kushāṇa in the year 39, obviously of the Kanishka era, could have been Huvishka. After the expression *Śāhi-Kushaṇasya* occurs *daḍanayagasya*, which is followed by the word *aṇae*.

Dani has deciphered the fourth line as *Pahakena Kshahatrapeṇa Kuḍuro*. The last word may better be read as *Kudurō* as there is a slanting stroke for medial *o* on the left (or proper right) of the letter, though it is (inadvertantly ?) shown as detached. Otherwise Dani's rendering is correct. He however, unnecessarily emendad *Kuḍura* as *pukura*. The form *Kuḍura* can well stand for *Kuḍīra* Sanskrit *Kuṭīra* = *Kuṭī*, meaning *inter alia* "a cell, especially of a monk".[8] This interpretation tallies well with the first word of line 5 read as *Khanavita* by Dani and as *Khanavit[o]* by Soloman, both the forms meaning "caused to be excavated". It appears that here, there is a reference to the excavation of a cell. In any case Soloman's reading *Kundura [je] [*na] [*kuvo]* in line 4 is certainly a wild guess.

After *Khanavit(o)* in line 5 we can easily read *sarvasatvaṇa pu*. As the next line is nearly effaced, we cannot convincingly offer any reading. But on the analogy of the occurrence of the phrase *sarvsatvaṇa puyae* in numerous Kharoshṭī inscriptions, we can support Dani's reading *yae* in line 6. But there may have been a few more letters after *yae*.

On the basis of the above discussion we now read and translate the epigraph as follows :

Text

L1 – *Saṁ 20 [+*] 10 [+*] 4 [+*] 4 [+*] 1 mase Avaduṇagasya*

L2 – *(di) 1 [+*] 1 [+*] 1 atra divase Bhāharakasya śa –*

L3 – *hi Kushaṇasya daḍanayagasya aṇae*

L4 - *Pahakena Kshatrapeṇa Kuḍur[o]*

L5 – *Khanavit[o] sarvasatvana pu –*

L6 – *yae .... (?)*

Translation

The year 39, in the month of Avaduṇaga, the day 13 th ; on this day, at the order of Bhāharaka, the general of king Kushāṇa, a cell (has been) caused to be excavated by Kshatrapa Pahaka for the merit of all beings. The inscription is dated in the month of Avaduṇaga, identifiable with the Macedonian month *Audunaios*, corresponding to December–January. The Kurram inscription of the year 20 also refers to this month. The year 39, mentioned in our record, is to be referred to the Kanishka era. Huvishka was then the ruling king,

The inscription seems to perpetuate the excavation of a cell apparently in a hilly area near the boulder displaying the epigraph. Donative records in the Kharoshṭī script generally do not mention gift of cells, though contemporary Brāhmi inscriptions contain numerous references to such type of donation. The document,

datable to the reign of Huvishka, furnishes the name of one of the *daḍanayagas* or *daṇḍanāyakas* or generals (or judges)[9] as Bhāharaka. Under the latter served Kshatrapa Pahaka. In the Manikiala inscription of the year 18 (of the Kanishka era) the status of a *daṇḍanāyaka* is indicated as higher than that of a Kshatrapa.[10]

Notes :

1. A. H. Dani, "A Kushāṇa Kharosṭhī Inscription from North Waziristan (Pakistan), Dated Year 39", *Senart Paranavitana Commemoration Volume* (edited by L. Prematilleka, et. al), Leiden, 1978, pp. 48–50.
2. R. Solomon, "The Spinwam (North Waziristan) Kharoshṭhī Inscription", ***Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik***, pt. VII, 1981, pp. 11-20.
3. S. Konow, *C.I.I.*, Vol. II, pt. I, ***Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka***, Calcutta, 1929, pl. XXVIII-XXIX.
4. *Ibid.*, and our plate.
5. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, 2nd edition, reprint, London, 1953, p. 303.
6. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1981, pts. 1-2, p. 148.
7. S. Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
8. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Indian edition, Delhi, etc,, 1970, pp. 184-185 ; *Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇṇavo*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 252.
9. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, reprint, Oxford, 1951, p. 466.
10. S. Konow, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

4. THE VAKATAKA KINGS DAMODARASENA AND PRAVARASENA II

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Vākāṭaka epigraphy is replete with intriguing problems, and one of these questions concerns the following expression found in line 10 of the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā issued in the nineteenth year of the reign of her son, Pravarasēna II of the line of Gautamīputra.[1]

Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja-śrī-Dāmōdara-sēna-Pravarasēna-jananī.[2]

This compund, which describes the reigning king's mother Prabhāvatīguptā, has been rendered in two different ways; (i) mother of the Vākāṭaka king illustrious Dāmōdarasēna *(alias)* Pravarasēna, and (ii) mother of the Vākāṭaka kings illustrious Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna. Acceptance of one or the other interpretation is of great historical consequence; for, if the first interpretation were to be conceded, it would mean that there was only one monarch bearing the names Dāmōdaragupta and Pravarasēna; and in case the second rendering is accepted, the phrase would refer to two different ruling chiefs known as Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna.

The followers of the first interpretation include A. S. Altekar,[3] V. V. Mirashi[4] and others.[5] They particularly bank on the assumption that the titles *Vākāṭakānām Mahārāja* and *śrī*[6] are prefixed only to the name of Dāmōdarasēna, but not to that of Pravarasēna II, which would be somewhat strange and inexplicable in view of the fact that the drafters of the Vākāṭaka grants were very particular about the use of these titles in connection with the name of every Vākāṭaka king who actually reigned; it would look strange if these titles should not be prefixed to the name of Pravarasēna II, who was actually ruling at the time of the issuance of this grant. Moreover, had the intention been to name all the sons of Prabhāvatīguptā, the omission of the name of Divākarasēna, who is known from her Poona plates to have been her son, would be inexplicable. It has therefore been suggested that these were the names of the same person: Dāmōdarasēna adopted the name Pravarasēna after his illustrious ancestor at the time of his accession.[7]

However, these arguments fail to carry conviction, and the objections raised against the duality of Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna can be easily explained away. The first objection relating to the non-prefixing of the title *Mahārāja* and the honorific *śrī* is simply absurd as, according to well-known grammatical rules of Sanskrit, the adjectives prefixed to one name of the compound are applicable not only to that name but to all the names in it, and the use of these titles with Pravarasēna would have amounted to only an uncalled for duplication and redundancy. In fact, it would have been more open to serious objection from Sanskrit students. Even though Pravarasēna II was on the throne at the time this grant was registered as clearly stated in the inscription,

he would have had no objection to the non-use of these titles before his name as he was familiar with grammatical rules that prevented the repetition of these titles.[8] Moreover, we have no evidence of the practice of adopting coronation names among the Vākāṭakas as in the case of some other ruling families.[9] As for the non-mention of Divākarasēna, it is difficult to imagine the mind of the drafter of this record. But what appears likely, however, is that he, and of course his patron Prabhāvatīguptā, were anxious to mention the names of all of her sons who actually became *mahārājas*, whether dead or alive.[10] And there is no evidence that Divākarasēna, the eldest son of Rudrasēna II and Prabhāvatīguptā and therefore entitled to the throne rightfully, who remained a *yuvarāja* for full thirteenth years as we learn from the Poona plates issued in the thirteenth year of her regency on his behalf,[11] ever became a full-fledged king or *mahārāja* in his own right. There is, on the other hand, the negative evidence against his accession as *mahārāja* in his non-mention among Prabhāvatīguptā's sons who rose to the status of *mahārāja*. This should suffice to explain his non-mention in the Riddhapur charter. In view of this we are in agreement with those scholars, R. C. Majumdar[12] and D. C. Sircar,[13] who regard Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna II as two distinct chiefs who ascended the throne one after the other.

As if this were not enough, an evidence of a decisive nature on this point has come to light recently. Some years ago a grant of Prabhāvatīguptā was found at Miregaon in the Sakoli Tahsil of the Bhandara District of Maharashtra. Issued in the twentieth year of the reign of Pravarasēna II, *viz.*, barely a year later than the Riddhapur grant, this charter is similar in all respects to the Riddhapur plates except only technical details like the names of the donees and the donated village, etc. The seal of the Riddhapur plates was missing, but that of the Miregaon plates is intact and bears a four-line inscription in the Anushṭubh metre, which, in view of the chronological proximity, may be assumed to have been engraved on the seal attached to the Riddhapur plates as well. The stanza is as follows :

Vikkrāntayōr=jananyās=tu
Vākāṭaka-narēndrayōḥ
Śrī-Prabhōvati (tī) guptāyāḥ
śāsanaṁ ripu-śāsanam

The verse describes Prabhāvatīgupta as the mother of two powerful Vākāṭaka monarchs[14] and speaks of the charter[15] as chastiser of enemies. Prabhāvatīguptā's description as the mother of two Vākāṭaka kings is of great historical significance and appears to represent a metrical question and should leave no doubt that Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna were two distinct personages.

Notes :

1. This line is popularly known as the main branch ; but in view of the difficulties involved in deciding as to which of the two branches was main and which subsidiary, it is preferable to style this branch as Gautamīputra's line.

2. V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII.*, Vol. V, p. 32.

3. R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar (editors), *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age,* p. 111.

4. *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII*, Vol. V, pp. ix, xxiv, 35, 37. See also p. vi, where the genealogy and chronology adopted by Mirashi is given.

5. S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas,* Allahabad, 1967, pp. 245-46. Particularly see p. 245, fn. 2, where Altekar's view is quoted with approval.

6. Both Altekar and Mirashi drop the honorific *śrī* from the compound, perhaps by oversight.

7. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age,* pp. 111-113 ; *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, CII.*, Vol. V, pp. ix, xxiv, 35

8. If these titles were to be repeated, the expression would have become *Vākāṭakānāṁ mahārāja-śrī-Dāmōdarasēnasya Vākāṭakānāṁ mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya cha jananī,* which would have looked simply awkward.

9. This practice was prevalent among the ruling families of South Kōsala as well as among a few ruling families like Pallavas and some ruling chiefs in South-East Asia. See my *Early History of the Deccan : Problems* And Perspectives, pp. 258–67 ; C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social life and under the Pallavas*, p. 49 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Champā,* p. 157 and Sanskrit inscriptions nos. 7 and 12. Also see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. III, p. 89.

10. It is not necessary to assume that Dāmōdarasēna was dead at the time of the issue of the Riddhapur (and Miregaon) grant as it is equally possible that he may have been alive but had to abdicate the throne in favour of his younger brother for some reason including physical handicap incapacitating him

11 The Poona plates are apparently dated in the thirteeth year of her own rule, and not of Divākarasēna's crown-princeship. It is not impossible, in the present state of our information, that there might have been some some other *yuvarāja* during the earlier period.

12. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

13. *History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. III : *The Classical Age* (edited by R.C. Majumdar), p. 181.

14. Note the dual number in *vikkrāntayōḥ* and *Vākāṭaka-narēndrayōḥ.*

15. It cannot mean, in the present context, 'rule', for Prabhāvatīguptā was not ruling at the time of its issue, and the charter is clearly dated in Pravarasēna's rule.

5 SATEM COPPER PLATES OF AVANIJANASRAYA PULAKESIRAJA

Sharada Srinivasan

A set of two copper plates was received from Sri P.K. Patel, Satem, in Navsari Taluk, Bulsar District, Gujarat State, by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Maharajah Sayajirao University, Baroda, in 1981. The plates were encrusted with verdigris. They were subsequently chemically cleaned. I am thankful to Dr. K. P. M. Hegde, Head of the department of Archaeology and Ancient History for permitting me to edit these copper plates.

These two copper plates weighing 1.235 kgs. and 1.246 kgs. respectively, have two holes for the rings to hold them together. The two plates appear to have been fastened tagether by means of two rings, (now missing) passing through the holes in the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate. The two plates measuring 29 cms. by 24 cms and 29 cms by. 24.5 cms. respectively and having 3 mm in thickness, have the edges raised into a rim on the inside, to protect the inscription, which is on the inner sides of the plates. At a few places, some letters have been damaged but otherwise the plates are well preserved.

This is the second set of copper plates belonging to Pulakēśi Avanijanāśraya of Gujarat Chālukyas, whose other record dated (Kalachuri) year 490, was also procured from Navsāri[1]. The latter is now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It was originally published, with photo types and translations by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji and was later edited critically by Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

The characters of the present charter belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and are exactly similar to the Navsāri plates of the same king. These characters were current in Western India between 400 A. D. to 900 A. D. The similarity in characters and style of writing is understandable, since the writer of both sets of plates, happens to be one and the same person, namely *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Bappabhaṭṭi, son of *Mahābalādhikṛita* Haragaṇa. The record is written with care on the whole.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except for the *Maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation (Varāha) of Vishṇu and three benedictive and imprecatary verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. Several passages have been repeated *adverbum* from the Surat plates of Pulakēśi Avanijanāśraya dated (Kalachuri) year 490.

As regards orthography, it is also similar to the earlier plate, about which Prof. V. V. Mirashi has dealt with in great detail.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of land to several brāhmaṇas by the illustrious Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśirājā of the Gujarat branch of the early

Chālukyas. The record begins with the auspicious word '*Siddham*' expressed by a symbol. The invocatory verse is in praise of the Boar incarnation, which agitated the ocean and held the world on the tip of its projecting right tusk. The Chālukyas, were descendents of Hāriti and belonged to the Mānavyasa *gotra*. They were said to have been brought up by the seven divine mothers, who are the mothers of the seven worlds. They have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya and have obtained the boar emblem by the grace of Nārāyaṇa (1.1–4). Then comes the geneology of the donor. In the family of the Chālukyas, there was the *Pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī *Paramśevara* Śrī Satyāśraya Kīrtivarmarājā, whose body was sanctified by the *avabhṛita* bath in *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice (1.5–6). His son was Satyāśraya Śrī Pulakēśivallabha, who obtained formidable power by defeating Śrī Harshavardhana, the lord of Uttarāpatha (1.7–10).

His son *Paramamāhēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Satyāśraya Sri Vikramādityarājā, who regained his kingdom with the help of his excellent horse Chitrakaṇṭha vanquished Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings (1. 11–14). His younger brother was *Paramamāhēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmarāja (1. 15–16). His son *Paramamāhēśvara Paramabhaṭṭārāka* Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasarāja reconquered his own dominions by the might of his arms (1. 17–19). His younger brother, *Paramamāhēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśirāja, made this present grant. He was supposed to have defeated the Tājika army and obtained from Vallabhanarēndra, who was the contemporary Chaulukyan suzerain, who in token of his appreciation of Pulakēśi's heroism conferred upon him the following four titles, namely, *Pṛithivīvallabha* (the lover of the earth) *Dakshiṇāpathasādhāra*, (the pillar of the Deccan), *Chalukkikulālaṅkāra* (the ornament of the Chālukya family), *Anivarttakanivartayitṛi* (the repeller of the unrepellable) (1. 20–22; 11.23,24).

The royal order is addressed to all his officers born in his family and others according as they may be concerned to the heads of *Vishayas, Vāsavakas, Āyuktakas, Viniyuktakas* and others. (11. 27). The grant was made by the king for the increase of the religious merit of his parents and himself (11.26) and it was different pieces of land in *Sattuṅga grāma* which is situated in Chaḍihāra and Chaḍīvishaya for several brāhmāṇas belonging to different *gōtras*. The quantum of grant to each done varied (11. 29-36).

The grant was intended to provide for the *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva* and other rites (11.27).

The donees received full previleges, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*; not to be entered by *chaṭas* and *bhaṭas* (11.20). The donor appealed to the future kings, for sanctioning and maintaining the grant and warned, that the five *mahāpātakas* along with *upapātakas* would accrue to one, who would confiscate it or approve its confiscation (11.39). Gracious kings of the future, whether born in this family or others, considering that fortune is impermanent and unsteady like a flash of lightening and that life is inconstant as a drop of water adhering to the tip of a blade

of grass, should preserve this gift (11. 37–38).

The grant is dated in numerical symbols, which are of the usual types used in the Western Indian variety, which were current in the records of Maitrakas, Sēndrakas, Gūrjaras and Gujarat Chālukyas. The endowment is dated as the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa in the year 498. Just like the dates in the other Gujarat Chālukyan records, this also must be referring to Kalachuri era. The word *di* is used for *dina*.

According to the Kalachuri-Chēdi epoch of 248–249 A.D., this date would correspond to 21st December 747 A.D., or 1st January, Sunday, 747 A.D. if taken as current year.[3] Since the week day is not mentioned, it does not admit any verification.

The name of the village Sattuṅga grāma can be identified with Satem. *Chaḍhī-āhāra* and *vishaya* corresponds to Charī, 73° -02′ E, 23° -38′ N in Chikli taluka. Sātem to Charī is 24 kms. Therefore the *vishaya* and *āhāra* of *Chaḍhī* must have been fairly bigger units. These types of bigger units for *āhāra* and *vishaya* seem to have been common, since in the Sara-svani plates of Buddharājā year 361 (610 A.D.)[4], Gōrajja-bhōga, the present Gōraj, 17 kms south of Halol was considered to be a sub-division of Bharukachchha-*vishaya*. Gōraj is nearly 100 kms from Broach.

Krāvigrama from which a donee was said to have emigrated may be identified with Kāvi (72° - 40′ E; 22° - 07′ E) in Jambusar taluka in Broach district.

This grant is later to the already published grant of Pulakēśi Avanijanāśraya by eight years. As has already been stated he must have been ruling contemporaneously in southern Gujarat, while his brother Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasarāja was ruling in northern Maharashtra.

Arab inroads to India as reported by Arab writers are from 636 A.D.[5] onwards. Indian records also refer to their invasions as well as their defeat in 677 A.D.[6] 713 A.D.,[7] 736 A.D.,[8] and 739 A.D.[9] The present inscription must have been referring to an another raid in 8th century A.D.

This record confirms that the Chālukyas of Gujarat branch ruled till 747 A.D. in Navsāri area.

Text[10]

[Metres : Verses 1–5 *Anushṭubh*]

FIRST PLATE

1 Siddham[11] [॥*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=Vvārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇavaṁ (vam) [।*] dakshin-ōnnata-daṁshṭrāgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [॥* 1] Śrīmatāṁ saka–

2 la-bhuvana-shaṁ[12] saṁsthūyamāna-Mānavyasagōtrāṇāṁ Hāritīputrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-mātṛibhis=sapta-mā–

3 tṛibhir=abhivarddhitānāṁ Kārttikēya-parirakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paraṁparāṇāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prāsā-

4 da-samāsādita-Varāha-lāṁchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśikṛit-āśēsha-bhūbhṛitāṁ Chalukyānāṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇur=aśva-

5 mēgh[13]-āvabhṛita-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-gātr-ānēka-narapati-makuṭa-taṭa - ghaṭita - maṇi - gaṇa-kiraṇa-samullasit-ōdyō-

6 tita[14]-charaṇaḥ kamala[15]-yugalas=satyāśraya śrī-prithivī[16] - vallabha - mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Kīrttivarmma-rāja[ḥ]

7 tasya sutas=tatpādānudhyāta[17] parama - dēvatā - viśēshavad=vaṁdanīyatamas=sakala-śāstrārtha-tattvajñaḥ karikara-nishṭhura-

8 prakōshṭha-kara-kalita-niśita-nistriṁśa[18]-prahāra-dalita-pramukh - āgata - vairi - vāraṇa-kumbha-sthal-ōchchhalat-pratyagra-dhavala-

9 nirmmala-muktā-phala-prakara-kusuma-sthabaka - samabhyarchita - samara - dharitrī - talaḥ śrīmad-Uttarāpath-ādhīpati-

10 śrī Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpalabdh-ōgra-pratāpaḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ paramanāmā[19] Satyāśrayaḥ śri-Pula-

11 kēśivallabhaḥ tasya sutas=tatpādānudhyāt-ānēka - [narapati] - sāmanta - makuṭa-kōṭi-ghṛishṭa-charaṇ-āravinda-yugalō Mēru-

12 Malaya-Mandara-Vindhya-samāna-dhairyō='harahar - abhivarddhamāna - vara - kari - turaga-ratha-padāti-balō manōjan-aika-Chi-

13 trakaṇṭh-ākhya-pravara-turaṅgamēṇ=ōpārjjita-svarājya[ḥ] vijita-Chēra-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-kram-āgata-rājya-trayaḥ paramamā-

14 hēśvaraḥ parama - bhaṭṭārakas = Satyāśrayaḥ Śrīvikramādityarājas=tasy=ānujō vijita - sakal-ārāti-pakshas=chatur-u-

15 dadhi-paryanata-mālā-mēkhalāyāḥ kshitēr=maṇḍanabhūtō mattēbha-kumbha - maṇḍala-vidāraṇaḥ kēsari-kishōra=iva vikram=aika-rasaḥ

16 samasta-divi-maṇḍala-prakhyāta-kīrttiḥ parama-māhēśvara-parama - bhaṭṭāraka- Dharāśrayaḥ śrī Jaya-singadēvarmmarājaḥ sta(ta)-

17 syaḥ(sya) sutas=tatpādānudhyātas=sakala-jana-man-ānaṁdabhūt-ānēka-samara-saṅkaṭa-pramukh-āgatā-nihata-śatru-sāmanta

18 kulavdhū - prabhāta-samaya-rudita-chchal-ōdgīyamāna-vimala-nistriṁśa[20] -pratāpō nija bhuja - prabāv - ōpārjjita - sva -

19 kīya-bhū-bhāga-maṇḍala[ḥ] parama-māhēśvara[ḥ*] parama - bhaṭṭāraka-jay - āśraya - śrī-Maṅgalarasarājas=tasy=ānujas=tatpā-

20 da-paṅkaj - ārādhan - ānudhyāta[ḥ*] pratidinam=upachīyamān - ōdayaḥ śaiśavād=ēva samasta-guṇa-gaṇ-ādhishṭhā-

21 na-bhūtaḥ svayaṁvaray=aiva rājalakshmyā samāsādita-vaksha sthalō dhavala - yaśō vitāna-vimalīkri(kṛi)ta-[di]-

22 [. . . . .] parama-māhēśvara[ḥ*] parama - bhaṭṭāraka [ḥ*] śatru gaṇa-

SECOND PLATE

23 Tājika-vijaya-paritōshita-śrī-Vallabha narēndra- sakāśāt=prasād - āvāpt - āpara-nām=ālaṁkṛit=āvaliḥ tad=yathā prithi-

24 vīvallabha[21] - Dakshiṇāpatha-sādhāra-Chaluki-kul- ālaṁkār - Ānivarttaka-nivarttayitr=Avanijanāśraya-Pu-

25 lakēśirājaṁ(jā) kuśalī [।*] sarvvān = ēv = āsmad - vaṁśyān = anyāṁś = cha yathā saṁbadhyamānakān = Vishayapati-Vāsavak-Āyuktaka-

26 Viniyuktak-ādīn samanudarśayaty = astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yath = āsmābhir = mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-

27 bhivṛiddhayē bali-charu vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ādi-kṛiy-ōtsarpaṇārtthañ=cha Chadīhāra-vishay-āntargata Sattumga-grāma-

28 s = sōdraṅga - saparikaras[22] = savishṭhi [kara*]s = sadāna - pradānikaḥ[23] achāṭa-bhaṭ - prāvēśyaḥ bhūmichchhidra - nyāyēna - utta-

29 rāyaṇa-saṁkrāntyāṁ Krāvi - grāma - vāstavya-tach=chāturvidyā-sāmānya-Bhāradvāja-sagōtra - Taittirika[24] - sabrahmachāriṇē

30 Duggaḍhaiḥ (Duggaḍha) Māḍhikaya (Māḍhikasya) sutāy = ārddhaṁ tathā Māḍhara - gōtra - Taittirika[25] sabrahmachāriṇē Gangaḍhēḥ........[26]

31 Bhāradvāja sagōtra - Taittirika[27] - sabrahmachāriṇē Vaiśva[ddāya] pañcha - bhāgāḥ tathā Gōvindōpādhyāyāya bhāga - dva -

32 yaḥ tathā Bha Amvāya bhāga - dvayaḥ tathā Khēdukāya bhāga - dvayaḥ tathā Nāgadē-vāya bhāga - dvayaḥ tathā Rē[va] [varmmā] -

33 ya bhāga - dvayaḥ tathā Kanhaḍhaḥ[28] bhāgaḥ tathā Bhaṭṭa [Rullā]ya bhāgaḥ tathā Drōṇamāya bhāgaḥ tathā Sē [shira] . . . ya

34 bhāgaḥ tathā Kulukāya bhāgaḥ tathā Harērdhabhāgaḥ[29] tathā Kēśavāya bhāgaḥ tathā Anantāya bhāgaḥ tathā

35 Varadrallāya bhāgaḥ Śrikumārāya bhāgaḥ tathā .... bhāgaḥ tathā . . . Bhāradvāja sagōtra Bahṛicha (Bahvṛicha) – sabrahmachā –

36 riṇē Chittapāya bhāgaḥ Guvamēshāvarmmaṇē bhāg=ōtsṛishṭaḥ [।*] ya. . m = āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir = asmad = vaṅśyai-

37 r=anyaiś=cha sāmānya-bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=vidyullōlāny = anit-yāṉy=aiśvaryāṇi tṛiṇ-āgra-lagna-jala-

38 bindu-chanchalam=āyur=avēkshya asmad=dāy=ōnumantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś=cha yaś=ch=ājñātṛi(na)-timira-

39 paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchiṁdyād=āchchhidyamānaṁ v=ānumōdēta sa pañchabhir= mahāpātakais=sōpapātakair=ā

40 nantaryaphalas(la)-saṁyuktas=syād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna [।*] Shashṭim varsha sahasrāṇi svarggē ti-

41 shṭhati bhūmidaḥ [।*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [॥2*[Vindhy-āṭāvīshv=atō yāsu śushka-kōṭa-

42 ra-vāsinaḥ [।*] kṛishṇ-āhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi-dānaṁ haranti yē[॥3॥*] Bahubhir= vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādi-

43 bhiryasya[30] yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ[31][॥4*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām vā yatnād = raksha yudhishṭhiraḥ[32][।] mahīn = mahi-

44 matāṁ[33] śrēshṭha dānāch = chhrēy-ōnupālanaṁ [॥5*] yaka[34]kālaḥ saṁvat 400+90+8[35] Pausha śuddha 10+[5] likhitañ=cha

45 Mahāsandhivigrahika-sāmanta-śrī Bappaṭinā Mahābalādhikṛita Haragaṇa-sūnunā ॥

Notes :-

1 V.V. Mirashi, 'Navsāri plates of Pulakēśirāja (Kalachuri year 490)', *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 137 ff.

2 Ibid.

3 See 'A Note on the Satem Copper Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśirāja' below.

4 'Sarsavṇī plates of Buddharāja (Kalachuri year 361)', *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pt. I, pp. ff.

5 Elliot H. M. and Dawson J, *The History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. I, pp. 116, 123-24.

6 Muhammad Umar (Kokil), The Gujarat-Muslim relations before the 11th century, *Forbes Trimasik*, vol. III, p. 25.

7 Muhammad Safullaha, *Mirate Mustafabad*, vol. II, p. 25.

8 'Kavi plates of Jayabhaṭa IV (Kalachuri year 416),' *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 96 ff.

9 Ibid., p. LXV.

10 From photograph.

11 Expressed by a symbol.

12 This letter is redundant.

13 Read *aśvamēdha.*

14 Read *oddyōdita.*

15 Read *charaṇa-kamala.*

16 Read *Pṛithivī.*

17 Read *tatpādānudhyātaḥ.*

18 Read *nistṛiṁśa.*

19 Read *Parama-māhēśvar-āpara-nāmā.*

20 Read *nistriṁśa.*

21 Read *Pṛithivī-vallabha.*

22 Read *sōparikara.*

23 Read *pradānakaḥ.*

24 Read *Taittirīya.*

25 Read *Taittirīya.*

26 This portion is very much damaged.

27 Read *Taittirīya.*

28 Read *Kanhaḍāya.*

29 Read *Harayē = 'rdha-bhāgaḥ.*

30 Read *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* । *yasya.*

31 Read *phalam.*

32 Read *Yuddhishṭhira.*

33 Read *mahīṁ mahimatāṁ.*

34 Read *Śaka.*

35 See A Note on the Satem copper-plates of Avanijanāśraya **Pulakēśirāja below.**

6. A NOTE ON SATEM COPPER PLATES OF AVANIJANASRAYA PULAKESIRAJA

S. Subramonia Iyer

The Satem Copper Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśirāja have been edited by Mrs. Sharada Srinivasan in the foregoing pages of the journal. We do not agree with her reading of the date portion of the charter and her interpretation thereof. She reads the date portion in line 44 as follows.

Ya(Śa)ka – kālaḥ saṁvat 400+90+8

Pausha śuddha 10+5. On the basis of this reading, she takes the year as of Kalachuri-Chēdi reckoning and arrives at the corresponding Christian equivalent as 21st December, Thursday, 747 A.D. (if the Kalachuri year is taken as expired) or 1st January, Sunday, 747 A.D. (if it is taken as current year). Her reason to take the year to Kalachuri Chēdi era is probably due to the fact that the Navsāri plates of the same king, the only other charter of the monarch known so far is dated in that era. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that in the Navsāri plates, the date portion commences with merely *saṁvatsara-śata* while in the charter under review, it starts with *ya(Śa)ka-kālaḥ saṁvat* which unmistakably shows that the Satem copper plates are dated in the Śaka era. Her reading of the date-numerical figures is also not correct. We read the date portion as follows. "*Ya(Śa)ka-kālaḥ saṁvat* 600+50+8." This will make the date of the present charter as Śaka 658 Pausha śu. 15 which will correspond to December 21, 736 A.D., f.d.t. .89 the week-day being Friday on which day falls the summer solstice *(Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti)*. The grant, it may be noted was made in that occasion. This charter is therefore anterior in date to Navsāri plates.

Unlike Navsāri plates, the present charter does not give a graphic description of the fight that took place between Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin and the invading Arabs off the Gujarat coast and the crushing defeat the former inflicted on the latter. It simply refers to the victory of Avanijanāśraya in the battle over Tājikas (Arabs) which won him the favour of his suzerain king Vallabha who conferred on him as many as four titles. The reasons for this glaring omission are not clear. Does it mean that Avanijanāśraya had more than one encounter with the Arabs[1] ? V.V. Mirashi puts the date of the battle Avanijanāśraya had with the Arabs to 739A.D.[2] It may however be noted that at the time of Mirashi's writing, only the Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya was known. In the light of the present charter, either the date of Avanijanāśraya's battle with the Arabs has to be assigned to a date prior to 736 A.D. if we assume that there was only one encounter between Avanijanāśraya and the Arabs or if we assume more than one battle between the two, then one of them has to be assigned to a date prior to 736 A.D. and the other to about 739 A.D. as presumed by Mirashi.

It is interesting to observe that the charter under review being the earliest at present known of Avanijanāśraya is dated

in the Śaka era thereby showing the continued affliations with or influence of the king's forbears viz. the Chalukyas of Vātāpi whose many inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era.[3] Not long thereafter the king appears to have shifted to dating his records in Kalachuri Chēdi era as evidenced by the Navsāri plates.

Notes :

1. *Buhler's chart,* Tafel IX

2. *CII.,* Vol. IV, pt.I, introduction. p. lxv.

3. See K. V. Ramesh, *Chalukyas of Vātāpi*, Appendix, pp. 177—184.

7. ANALYSIS OF INSCRIPTIONAL DATA THROUGH COMPUTER

S. K. Havanur

Inscriptions have fulfilled the basic need of recreating our ancient and medieval history. However, they are studied in greater detail even now, because they happen to be the main and considerably reliable source of several aspects of Indian culture. For students of history, they are no doubt major reference material. Other researchers also, say, in the areas of religion, linguistics and social sciences also, there have been occasions to refer to the inscriptions. But then there are nearly two hundred thousand inscriptions in the country and the information contained in them is too enormous to retrieve any aspect. Even if it is accessible, one may have to put up with large-scale omissions.

Information from inscriptions is sought for at both micro-and macro-levels. A history researcher, although familiar with inscriptions, may not readily get the information he needs. Someone working on toponymy i.e., place-name studies in a region has to scan all the inscriptions, may be, without much success. Some other person may be wanting to know the various terms of administration and finance under a particular dynasty, and that requires scanning of several hundred inscriptions. A critic of fine arts, who has little to do with history may be interested to know more about traditional art forms, say, Yakshagāna. But he would not venture to look into the inscriptions, simply because of the bulk of this source, and uncertainty of availability. Thus the occasions for referring to this data are varied and innumerable but access to the same is sealed off, so to say. Search for any bit of information from inscriptions is like looking for any needle in a hay stack.

But then the computer can do this stupendous task of scanning the entire hay stack and pick up the needle for you, and that too in a few seconds. If we store bits of information from inscriptions —even if it is in millions, you can retrieve from the Computer storage, any minutest, or a large bulk of information.

It is not necessary for us—history students, to know the actual functioning of the Computer. However, a perfunctory outline is needed here. In any Computer application, we have to first 'input' the information, in a format that would facilitate retrieval. The Computer holds the same in its memory. For processing for retrieval, the Computer needs to be given a set of instructions, known as Programming. As per the programmer's instructions the Computer processes the required information and gives us the 'output.' The input is done either through the punched cards or the terminal. Likewise, the output may also be available on the terminal or in the form of 'print-out' i.e., printed sheet. Be it remembered that the Computer does not give us anything that is not already stored. But the advantage is that ii picks up and gives the information

needed, in any combination or sequence that we specify. It does not omit anything in this process. Further, it does the job so fast which otherwise would need a hundred times more effort.

So, the first step is to feed the inscriptional data to the Computer. Feeding the entire text does not help, as the information we seek would be a specific one. Taking into account the type of information we seek from inscriptions, the following may be considered for input :

External

i) Publication details and placement of inscription.

ii) Physical nature (i.e., stone, copper etc.)

iii) Language and authorship.

Textual

iv) Subject matter

v) Date/s.

vi) Reigning king and dynasty.

vii) Specific terms, denoting :

a) Animates : Deities, Royal personages, Preachers, Officials and Citizens.

b) Geographical terms, such as rivers, lakes, mountains, flora & fauna, and regions or divisions, cities and temple names.

c) Technical terms denoting religion, arts, administration, astronomy etc.

d) Important common nouns.

e) Proper nouns, indicating royal titles, books etc.

f) Some abstract terms-philosophic and others.

This information needs to be fed in a manner which the Computer can readily locate for retrieval purposes. (Vide Figure 1 for the format).

At the input stage of inscriptional data, some words recur more frequently ; for instance, language names and words such as, king, city etc. Such words may be abbreviated. In order to retain their mnemonic nature, the first three (or two) consonants may be taken. If, however, it is a two word combination, like Tamil Nadu, in may be abbreviated as "T. N." Here are a few examples :

i) Names of States and languages : Kannaḍa = KND ; Kerala = KRL ; Andhra Pradesh= A.P ; Goa = GOA ; Malayāḷam=MLY

ii) Religious sects : Jaina = JNN ; Srivaishṇava=SRV ; Dvaita=DVT

iii) Śakas : Śālivāhana=SL ; Vikrama=VK.

iv) Geographical terms : City = CTY ; River=RVR.

v) Others : King = KNG ; Geneology = GNL ; Book= BKK ; Deity = DTY ; Administrative=ADM

To find out the feasibility of the input format and its processing, data from the Koḍagu (Coorg) District (taken from the 1972 ed. of the Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. 1) were input, with due programming[1]. The results were satisfactory (vide Figure 2 for a specimen data input ; and Figure 3 for select listing of information obtained therefrom).

While seeking specific information from out of the input data, you may ask

the Computer to give alongside, incidental information, such as the year of the inscription, dynasty, place, or publication details.

Given below are some of the samples of information, the computer may be asked to furnish :

a) Which are the inscriptions located in . . . . . District ?

b) Which are all the inscriptions written by . . . . ?

c) List the incriptions in Prakrit language, as found in the Kerala State.

d) List all the inscriptions in the Coimbatore District, during the 9th century.

e) In which inscriptions, the Chōḷa king Rājarājēndra has been mentioned ? (include the information from Karṇāṭaka, as well)

f) Any inscriptions referring to Āñjanēya in Telaṅgāṇa area ?

g) List all botanical terms found in the inscriptions of North Karnataka.

h) Apart from Tiruvanantapuram, where else are the temples of god Ananthaśayana ?

i) For a study of numismatics in South India during pre–5th Cent., may I have a list of coins mentioned in the concerned inscriptions ?

Such queries could go on and on, and in any case the computer is capable of answering them.

Now that the pilot experiment is successful, we can seriously think of storing inscriptional data in the Computer. A beginning may be made with inscriptions from the four Southern States as their history is very much interlinked. No doubt, the task of scanning nearly 75,000 inscriptions, and writing out the data in the Computer format, is quite enormous. However, the work can be shared by the History Departments of the Southern Universities. The work of scanning of inscriptions can be done by a Post–graduate in history or the regional language, who can be employed as a research associate for a period of 2–3 years. An apex body like the South Indian History Congress can coordinate the project. As for the availability of Computer, we do have the Computer systems in places like Bombay, Madras and Delhi, with very large storing capacity. The data collection is relatively simple and the advantages are quite many, while catering to the needs of a vast spectrum of researchers. Further, it will cost only a few lakhs of rupees for the entire South India, and there are appropriate funding agencies

Figure 1

FORMAT FOR INPUT OF INSCRIPTIONAL DATA.

Line	01	Identification No.		Published in	
	02	Place		Dist.	Pin Code
	03	Present availability.		First Published by	
	04	Republished in		By	
	05	Critical Study published in		By	
	06	Critical Study published in		By	
	07	Material used (stone, copper etc.)	Conditon	Literary form	No. of lines
	08	Language	Script	Language (Ind)	Script
	09	Author		Person responsible for the order	
	10	Sculptor		Signatory/Seal	
	11	Theme (Main)		Theme (Secondary)	
	12	Subject matter (Main)			
	13	Subject matter (Secondary)			
	14	Date of inscription (as in inspn.)		Corresponding Christian date	
	15-19	Dates in inscription		Corresponding Christian dates	
	20	Reigning king	Dynasty	Reigning King	Dynasty
	21-22	Addl. information			
	23-29	Royal Titles.			
	30-99	Words (with line no.)	Category	Words (line no.)	Category

Figure 2

SPECIMEN INPUT FROM AN INSCRIPTION

01	KRN-KDG-0001		E.C.1 (1972), 1-Sp		
02	MAḌIKĒRI		Koḍagu		
03	Basel (Luthran Museum)		Rice, BL		
07	STN		PV		039
08	KND	KND	SNS		
10	Viśvakarma				
12	Grant of Badaneguppe, to Taḷavananagara Jaina Temple.				
14	SL 0388-MGH-S-05-M-Svati		AD 0466		
20	Aviniṭa	Gaṅga			
21	Spurious record. See *I.A.* Vol. 12 & *E.I.*, Vol. 3,6 & *E.C.* Vol. 1 (1914) 4 & 6.				
23	Akālavarsha Pṛithvīvallabha/Avinīta				
30	Koṅguṇi/Gaṅga	KNG	Mādhava I/Gaṅga	KNG	
31	Vishṇugōpa/Gaṅga	KNG	Mādhava II/Gaṅga	KNG	
32	Kṛishṇavarma/Kadamba	KNG	Padmanābha	DTY	
33	Chandanandi	JNA	Guṇanandi	JNA	
37	Perbakavana	CTY	Jhamsanda betturar	CMN	
38	Kāṇvāyana-gōtra	GNL	Koṇḍakundānvaya	GNL	
39	Dattakasūtra-vṛitti	BKK	Harivarma/Gaṅga	KNG	
42	Punnāḍu-6000	DVS	Śrīvijaya Jinālaya	TPL	
43	Talavana-nagara	CTY	Badaneguppe	CTY	
44	Kaṇḍugu	ADM	Ambalimannu	ADM	
48	Kenjige Maradi	RGN	Gajasele	CTY	
51	Balkani Vṛiksha	BTN	Nandyāla	OFC	
55	Jambupadi-taṭāka	PND	Galechincha Vṛiksha	BTN	
62	Pergiviyar	CMN	Alageyar	CMN	

Explanations : KNG=King, JNA=Jaina Āchārya, BTN=Botanical, PND=Pond, CMN=Commoner, OFC=Official, DVS=Division, CTY=City, DTY=Deity, TPL=Temple, ADM=Administrative, JNN=Jaina religion, SNS=Sanskrit, STN=Stone, GRT=Grant, MGK=Magha, S-05=Śukla Pañchami.

Figure 3

SPECIMEN OUTPUTS OF INFORMATION

(A) List of Deities mentioned in the (7) Koḍagu Inscriptions.

Deity	*I.D.No.*	*Published in*	*Date*
Gauridhava	KRN-KDG-0003	E.C.1 (1972) 5-7p.	AD. 1822-03-03
Mahādēva	KRN-KDG-0003	,,	,,
Nārāyaṇa	KRN-KDG-0001	E.C.1 (1972) 1-5p.	AD. 0466
Padmanābha	KRN-KDG-0001	E.C.1 (1972) 1-5p.	AD. 0466
Rāmēśvara	KRN-KDG-0002	E.C.1 (1972) 5p.	
Sāṁbaśaṅkara	KRN-KDG-0003	E.C.1 (1972) 5-7p.	AD. 1822-03-03
Śāntinātha	KRN-KDG-0004	E.C.1 (1972) 7p.	AD. 11 . .
Śāntinātha	KRN-KDG-0006	E.C.1 (1972) 7-8p.	AD. 11 . .

(B) List of Administrativc Terms.

Ambali-maṇṇu	KRN-KDG-0001	E.C.1 (1972) 1-5p.	AD. 0466
Kaṇḍuga	KRN-KDG-0001	,,	,,
Khaṇḍuga	KRN-KDG-0002	E.C.1 (1972) 5p.	—
Tala-vṛitti	KRN-KDG-0001	E.C.1 (1972) 1-5p.	AD. 0466

Notes :-

1 The programming was done by M. G. Railkar of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, in SNOBOL language. The computer system used was DEC-10, available in the TIFR

2 The Computer help can be sought in some other issues such as doubtful authorship or authenticity or dates of inscriptions. Interesting work has been done by Gift Siromoney and others of the Madras Christian College, in deciding the date of a Tamil inscription, as reported in the M.C.C's Scientific Report No. 26 (1976).

8 BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM VENGIPURA EXCAVATIONS (1986-87)

I. K. Sarma

The ancient city of Veṅgīpura now a sprawling village called Peddavēgi is 12-km north of Eluru town in District West Godavari of Andhra Pradesh.

The Excavations Branch-I of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur has conducted systematic excavations at this place.[1] Excavations at the ancient spot called "Dhanaṁdibbā" literally 'Mound of wealth' north of village brought to light two phases of cultural activity, both assignable to the early historical period. A *Stūpa* complex was found in the earliest phase-IA, (circa. 4th-5th cent. A.D.) which appears to be the work of Śālankāyana rulers. *Vēṅgī* or *Vijaya Vēṅgīpura* was the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It is well known that Hastivarman (I) was called *Vaiṅgēyaka* in the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta[2] (350 A.D.). Nandivarman-II (400-30), according to a pillar inscription from the nearby Buddhist site of Guṇṭupalle,[3] caused certain donations to the Buddhist *vihāras* while ruling from the victorious city of Vēṅgīpura inspite of his being a *Paramabhāgavata* and devoted to *Chitrarathasvāmin* i.e. the Sun god, more precisely, Sūryanārāyaṇa[4]

Inscription 1 : Almost confirming the inscriptional evidence of Guṇṭupalle and of the same period, a Brāhmī inscription was found on a lime stone pillar at Peddavēgi during the year 1927 by N. Lakshminarayana Rao, the then Chief Epigraphist.[5] The inscription is in four lines below the half-lotus medallion and extends over the two frontal facets of the octogonal pillar shaft. The curly flourishes to the verticals of the letters *a, ka, ra, la,* the thickened line-head marks and squarish forms of the letters justify a post Ikshvāku date. The text is partially preserved and a few letters at the terminal of each line are not clear in the photographs of the estampage supplied by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. It is unfortunate that the inscribed pillar could not be traced in the village inspite of our best efforts and so the estampage is the only available source for study.

The ancient mounds, including "Dhanaṁdibbā" site are despoiled by the locals in the preceding century.[6]

The text in four lines reads :

1. *– ne Kaṁṭaka Se(So)le [ṇa] –*
2. *na aparasela –*
3. *ḍhave pavajiti ka*
4. *sa khaṁbhō,*

The inscription records the gift of a *maṇḍapa* pillar by some one (name not known), on a hill, belonging to the *aparaśaila* sect placed at *Kaṁṭaka Sela*, the present Ghaṇṭaśālā in district Krishṇa. Ghaṇṭaśālā is a well known Buddhist site and a port town on the estuary of the river Kṛishṇa right from very early period.

The present record is datable to the post-Ikshvāku period. The *stūpa* unearthed at Peddavēgī on plan and elevation is alike the one at Ghaṇṭaśālā. The sect of *Aparamahā-vinaseliya* was originally based at Śrīparvata (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa). It is quite likely, after the fall of the Ikshvākus, the Śālaṅkāyanas took over and patronised these Buddhist *saṁghas* both at Ghaṇṭaśālā and Peddavēgi at least in the beginning.

Inscriptions 2 and 3 : Besides, the above one, in the month of March, 1917, two lime stone pillars trimmed and reused as (PVG–I, Trench ZA–1, Qdts. 3 & 4) *praṇālas* in a later phase of a brick temple complex of the time of Vishṇukuṇḍins (Phase IB – late 5th and early 7th century A.D.) was found. On the later l sections of the lower shafts of these hexagonal pillars three inscriptions in Brāhmī characters and *Prakrit* language of 1st-2nd century A.D. are extent. These inscriptions are below the mid-section of the shaft the upper part possessing a lotus medallion bordered by a register of running animal frieze, more prominent and well preserved than the latter. Such pillars are characteristic of the monastic establishments of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa of the later Śātavāhana times.

Inscription No. 2 : The inscription is in five lines, the beginning of each line is clear but the terminals are incomplete. The record occupies the lower register below the running animal (tiger).

Text reads :

1. *Rāño*[7] *Kakīchikāya maha . .*
2. *ya atevāsakā . .*
3. *nī yāma hayāya . .*
4. *ha atevāsisa [ri] . .*
5. *Nāgapavata la . .*

We cannot be certain also as to the number of the missing letters on the right extreme. The thickened head-marks (wedges or nail head) and the squarish letter-forms, the slender curve of the vertical ends of the letters *a, ka, ra,* characterise the later Śātavāhana Brāhmī of 2nd century A.D. and are almost certainly of pre-Ikshvāku date.

We come to know, for the first time, a king named Kakīchī from this record. He appears to be a monk *(antevāsaka)* internee. Further it refers to the monks and nuns residing in a monastic unit aligned to Nāgaparvata i.e Mahānāga parvata.[8] This hill is at the Guṇṭupalle site, 27-km north of Peddavēgī. The record has not provided any clue about the historicity of the king partly because of the incomplete nature of the text.

Inscription No. 3 : The surface of the pillar shaft containing this record is badly worn out. The brittle soft ashy-grey lime stone is powdery. The extant letters are in four horizontal lines. Three more stray letters are traceable at the edge of the shaft. On the upper register, a lion is shown to right with the tail curled up, and with its face damaged. The lotus medallion at the top is also partially preserved.

Text reads :

1. *Padhāna Pari gāhe . .*
2. *haghase ā Kichī*
3. *. . . . . gha yā*
4. *dahā vasā bhūtā . .*

The inscription also reveals the name *[Ka]kīchi,* refers to a *saṁgha,* i.e. Buddhist *saṁgha,* and in the fourth line the word *'daśa-varshāṇi bhūtāni'* meaning ten years past, some incident is narrated. On stylistic basis also the lotus medallion and the running animal frieze below clearly points out the Śātavāhana art style.

We find in *Maṇimēkalai* a reference to the city called Kākandinagara identified as Kāvēripūṁpaṭṭiṇam. K. R. Srinivasan[9] suggested that *Kakīchika* may mean the son of Kīchikā and perhaps the ruler of Kākandi–nagara and being a Buddhist might have come to Peddavēgī, Mahānāga-parvata ete. and perhaps stayed for a long time.

Inscription no. 4

Only two letters are extent written horizontally on the shaft of the long *praṇāla* chute. They read *da[ksha]* in characters of 2nd century A.D. This might stand for the name of the carver.

It may be pointed out, at the very outset, that none of the inscribed pillars detailed above were found in association with any specific structure of the period to which the contents of the records refer. The *stūpa* exposed at the Dhanaṁ-dibbā is of the 4th century A.D., almost certainly later by at least two centuries. Except the inscription No. 1, the others are of much earlier period and no structure assignable to this period was unearthed so far nor we expect one such in the vicinity of Dhanaṁdibbā. Apparently the pillar parts bearing these records were brought from elsewhere and reused as *praṇālas* in the brāhmanical temples of the Vishṇukuṇḍin period, after a lapse of four centuries. However, from the above records one thing is certain. Peddavēgī had Buddhist establishment (s) coeval with the monastic units of Guṇṭupalle (Mahā-nāgaparvata) of the *Mahāyāna* order. The latter site is just 27 km north of Vēngi and formed part of the territories ruled by the later Śātavāhana-Ikshvāku-Śālaṅkā-yana and Vishṇukuṇḍin royal houses.

Ptolemy (140 A.D.) refers to *Benagouron*[10] (Vēṅgīpura), Kontakossyla (Kaṇṭakasela) along with other important port towns such as Maisolos (Machilipaṭṇam), Koddūra or Kūḍūru (Gūḍūru) on the eastern sea board. All these places were strongholds of Buddhism humming with monks and merchants from eastern as well as western countries.[11] *Mahānāvikas*[12] of Buddhist faith were found mentioned in Ghaṇṭaśālā and Guṇṭupalle records. Hiuen Tsang (639–40), the Chinese pilgrim, refers infact to *Ping-ki-pulo* (Vēṅgīpura) as the capital city of *Antolo* and speaks of a *stūpa* built by Aśōka Maurya at this place.[13] The present excavations, however, did not reveal any structural or stratigraphical proof or pottery wares that could be assigned to pre–4th century A.D.

However, the above inscribed pillars of uncertain locus and recovered from the late levels discussed above provide us a date of 2nd century A.D., atleast to the Buddhist monastery of this place which is presently elusive. More extensive and intensive probing is necessary to verify the statement of the Chinese pilgrim.

Notes :

1 *Indian Archaeology*, 1985-86, *A Review* (under Print). The team working here include myself and my colleagues Sarvashri G.V.S. Rao, S.K. Lekhwani, S.K. Mittra, Dr. Vijay Lanjewar, K. Padmanabha, J.N. Gandhi, Mohinder Singh, S.V. Sutaone, P.M. Bhope, M.U. Qureshi, H.J. Barapatre, N.K.S. Sharma, B K. Rudra and A.U. Ganar.

2 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (New Delhi, second edition, 1986), p. 265, note. 1. Recently Dr. S.P. Tewari, Keeper of Allahabad Museum has found an inscription in 1st-2nd century A.D characters around a circular pedestal of a stele (perhaps a memorial sculpture) which referred to a minister (*amātya*) belonging to Śālaṅkāyana family. The text as provisionally read by him at the conference (19-4-87 "*Amachasa Śālaṅkāyanasa Bhūtilasa putasa Bhayāyā Payevilasa Samayikāye hidaya Piyāye kulakaṁ*. This is reported to be from the historical city of Kauśāmbi and now placed in the Allahabad Museum. I am thankful to Dr. S.P. Tewari for this important information.

3 I.K. Sharma, "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalle", *JESI.*, Vol. V, (Mysore, 1978), pp. 49-50.

4 R. Subba Rao "Peddavēgi Copper plates of Nandivarman-" *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, I, Pt.1 (Rajahmundry, July, 1926) pp. 93-102.

5 *ARSIE.*, 1927, No. 219. I am grateful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) for supplying the photograph of the estampage.

6 The Dhanaṁdibbā site was first noticed by Robert Sewell in 1888. cf. *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of Madras*, 1888, no. 457 and pp. 9, 13-16. Extract from Para-5 at p. 15. Sewell records- "All these had been removed for the canal on the south-west side of the circular trench was a white marble slab about 5 feet by 3 feet with a "Tiger" sculptured on it ; it was also removed. Some bricks and stones lie around. The ring of stones might have been the base of a stone faced *stūpa* . . . . The excavators had simply carried round the trench so as to enable them to remove the circular ring of built masonry, and had not attached the bank of earth which surrounds it. The white marble slab would, I believe, form a portion of the rail, and they had unfortunately come on it carrying their trench just a little too far into the outer bank at this point. The centre of this mound had not been dug, and if, as appears this is a *stūpa*, the relic casket may still be there."

7 The first two letters are closely set and the letter '*ño*' in particular is very small indeed but very clear. This is the error of the *lēkhaka*, the writer of the record, who failed to adjust the letters properly for the carver. The usual auspicious formulae like *Siddhaṁ* etc are absent. Some scholars including Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director, (Epigraphy) present at the Session felt that the first three letters *ra*, *ña* and *ka* should be regarded as one letter—*ā* and so *Ākīchikaya*. Hence, no king is mentioned. The letter *ā* is erroneously written or partly got rubbed off in course of time over the fragile limestone resulting in broken form-the interspaces between the strokes of

the letter widened as to appear into three distinct *aksharas*. I beg to differ with all the above observations. The interspacing in between the first letter *rā* and the pygmy size *jña* is 3 mm. Generally the spacing in between the letters is 3 to 4 mm. wide. In the letter *'ka'* the right side stroke is quite unusual (as in a triangle-headed standard) but not uncommon.

8 I.K. Sarma, "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guṇṭupalle" *JESI.*, Vol. V, p. 59. Inscriptions no. 3, 7-8 and 10 refer to Mahānāgaparvata.

9 K.R. Srinivasan has put forth some alluring interpretations. I quote below the relevent extracts from his valuable letter dated 12th May, 1987 from Tiruchirapalli "Do we have here the origin of the later dynastic name Kākatīya ? — . — . Is there any such clue in the legends relating to the origin/ancestry of the race ? Was the name *Kāka* or *Kāki* based on which Kāka/Kāki will come to denote the daughter as in Jānaki from Janaka and other cases"—"Beyond guessing that it may refer to the crow—the tribal totem, if that is correct, I cannot say more with certainity." (p. 3).

Elsewhere at p. 5 "what can be the origin of the toponym 'Kākināḍa' ; How is that name derived in Telugu. The suffix *nāḍa* seems to be akin to the Tamil word *nāḍu* eg. Tamilnāḍu. Does *Kākināḍa (Kākināḍu)* mean the place of the *Kāka* or *Kāki* people and hence 'Kākīchī' a woman of that clan/class/tribe."

As regards "Kākatī", Parabrahma Sastry says that it could be the name of the tutelary deity or village goddess of Kākatīyas (in the form of Durgā) or alternately a place name, cf. *The Kākatīyas*, (Hyderabad, 1978), pp. 22-25 and 27. The most valuable point is however, the toponym *Kākināḍa*. This name may have been derived from the name of the ruler Kākīchika of our inscription and Kākināḍa, the port town is just 140 km north east of Peddavēgi and during the early historical period the entire region was governed as single geographical territory. We bow in admiration to Srinivasanji for his highly erudite, informative and endearing letter written with several meticulous details when I had the opportunity of placing the new inscriptions before him.

10 M.C. Grindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, (Ed.) Mujumdar and Sastri, pp. 67, 68 and 172, Also N. Ramesan (Ed.), *Andhra Pradesh District gazetteers : West Godavari*, (Hyderabad, 1979), pp. 20, 26-27. For a different interpretation of 'Benagauron' and also Ptolemy's '*Salakenoi*' see K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras, (1976) pp. 169-170.

11 K. R. Subramanian *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the History of Andhra Between 225 and 610 A.D.* (Madras, 1932), pp. v to viii, Chapter-XIII., Vimala Begley, "Arikamēḍu Reconsidered" *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 87 (1983), pp. 462-63, 470-72 and 479-80.

12 *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. V, (Mysore, 1978), pp. 50-51 ; Also refer *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII (1947-47), p. 4 ; *Ibid*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 258-76 ; and D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, (Calcutta, 1971), p. 236.

13 D. C. Sircar, *Aśokan Studies*, (Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1979), pp. 121-22.

9. A NOTE ON THE LAND ASSESSMENT MODES IN THE CHOLA AND THE PANDYA TIMES

R. Tirumalai

The Chōḷa land assessment mode has several intricate features which need to be unravelled. The available evidence is inadequate to set at rest all issues that are thrown up in the investigation of the subject. For one thing, the evidence is scattered and fragmentary. For another, no exact ratio could readily be established between the classification and assessment. This note sets out the salient features as far as can be ascertained from the available data with reference to the present state of understanding of the problems.

First : Land records maintenance were very detailed and intricate. The *oḻugu* was the register of occupancy and enjoyment. *Vari* or *varipottagam* was the register of assessment of land showing the tenure of the land, and the occupants from whom the land-dues in respect of each holding had to be collected. Whenever changes in tenure occurred they were promptly ordered to be entered in the *vari,* and the authenticated extract of the mutation (*uḷvari*) made by the *varivilār*, the authorities in-charge of land-tax register was conveyed to the grantees. It was the official basis for the grant ard its conditions. The *puravu* was, perhaps, the land-register showing lands assessed to full demand. In addition, there was a *tarappottagam*[1] maintained. This showed such of those lands classified on the basis of the assessment rate charged for it, and consequently, the *taram* classification to which a classified land belonged. As the *tarappottagam* was not traceable, assessment was reckoned at the rate applicable to area measurement of the same command area in Ambāsamudram *(tarap(po) ttagam kāṇāmayil puravu nilattōpādi mudal)*[2].

It follows that in the same township, nay in the same command area (*puravu*), there were at the same time lands classified on the basis of assessment, and non-classified lands (*taramidu and taramili*). The tank water-spread and other areas not cultivable were also *taramili* and had no assessment classification. In fact, there are reasons to believe that the assessment classification (*taram*) was fixed only when lands were reclaimed, and brought under cultivation.[3] (*tiruttippayirśeydu innellukku okka taram iṭṭukkoḷḷak-kaḍavōmāgavum*).

Thus in Māyavaram, we have both lands bearing assessment-classification, and those which did not according to accounts.[4]

Within the command area itself, lands were localised and grouped under each channel ! (*kaṇṇāṟu*) and *sadiram* (block or square) or *sadukkam* and within each such block there were both *taramidu* and *taramili* lands located alogside.[5]

From what has been stated, two broad bases for land-demand had existed side by side, those which had been assigned assessment – classification (*taramiṭṭa*) and

those which had not been (*taramili*). These latter could be either unoccupied or occupied. Temple sites, house-sites, tank-beds could be unassessed. But those assessed which did not bear, however, an asssessment - classification (*taram*) were charged on the square area or extent measured by the standard measuring rod or pole in use in the township (*virivilē or parappilē*). In order to equitably distribute the lands among the different rates of demand and to equitably distribute their spread among locations with differential advantages the lands when granted were located, some at the head, and some at the middle, and other at the tail-end of the command areas.

In some inscriptions, the extent in term of *taram*-classification are given, for example, 15 *vēlis* of land were reckoned as 5 *vēli* in terms of different *taram* classifications or *maḍakku mā*[6] *mūṉṟoṉrāga--maḍakki)*.

While the area measurement is understandable, the computed or commuted area in terms of the assessment-classification needs some scrutiny. Lands of various *tarams* or assessment-classification fastened on them were folded into a standard *mā (maḍakku-mā)* and the total assessment in terms of paddy and *kāśu* were given at the rate applicable to *maḍakku mā*.

In modern revenue settlement (in the British administration which adopted and preserved many of the indigenous features), the *taram* is the assessment-classification which grouped together lands bearing the same assessment rate though the lands might bear different classes and sorts. This is possible because the assessment rates were expressed in terms of a money rate based on the commuted value of grain. But in the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍyan times this was not possible. For one thing, demand was both in terms of grain and cash. The rates under both were varied. The currency also consisted of *kāśu*, *dramam*, etc., of varying exchange-value and even intrinsic value. There was no uniform monetary currency system. If several parcels of land bearing varied assessment rates were owned by the same holder, they had to be reduced to a standard measurement which was a co-efficient of both the area measurement and the assessment rate classification each parcel in the holding had borne, to arrive at some common standard of equivalence. This is explicitly conveyed by the phrase "*taramiṭṭu-maḍakki*"[7] or '*taramaḍakki*' that occurs often in the inscriptions. The *maḍakku-mā* is then the constructive unit of assessment computed on the basis of the assessment classification-wise distributed area, and the total area (by measurement) was reduced in terms of such unit of assessment-area.

But it is not easy to establish the correlation between the area-assessment and the *maḍakku mā*. A computation made by Subbarayalu gives quite a bewildering variety of ratios.[8] Some are explicit and straight forward. Thus in Tiruviḍaimarudūr case,[9] the text says 15 *vēlis* under *maḍakku (15 vēliyum suṟṟumuṟṟam muṉṟoṉrāha muḍakki vanda nilam 5 vēli)*. In another case,[10] 12 *vēli, 8 mā* were reduced in terms of *maḍakku 4 mā mukkāṇi, araikkāṇi kīḻ arai.*

The *taram* classification as per *taram* account were :

10th *taram*–3 3/4 4 *mukkāṇi* 1/2 *kāṇi mundirigai kīḻ arai*

11th *taram*–5–6 *mā/kīḻ* 1/2

12th *taram*–2 3/4 4 *mā mukkāṇi mundirigai kīḻ arai*

13th *taram–2 mā* 1/2

Folding up the several *tarams* in terms of *maḍakku,* the extent was 4 *mā mukkāṇi,* 1/2 *kāṇi kīḻ* 1/4.

The rates as per *maḍakku mā* were.

Paddy : 158 *kalam,* 2 *tūṇi, Padakku,* 4 *nāḻi*

Antarāyam 4 *kāśus*–6 *mā.*

Total demand : 21–2 *mā* in *kāśu,* and 778 *kalam*–1 *tūṇi–padakku* 1 in paddy.

In terms of area measurement, the demand was expressed as :

I vēli=62 kalam 2 tūṇi kuṟuṇi 4 nāḻi

Antarāyam=1 1/2 4 *mā*

It could be inferred that unless we know the *taram*-wise classified extent and the rates applicable to each as well as to the area-measurement and the rates, it will not be easy to tally the extents and assessments under either of the modes, nor will it be possible to get at the co-efficient to establish the ratio between the extents. The contradistinction between the *maḍakku mā* and *virivilē or parappilē* as the basis for assessment is clearly borne out.

A distinction was made between the demand due on the extent of the land *nilōpādi* based on area-measurement, and the demand-due on the basis of *taram* or classification of lands for assessment-grading *(tarōpādi)*. This distinction is very essential to be kept in view. For, it had its repercussions on the quantum of land-dues and also on the manner in which it devolved on the tenants and the cultivators as against the occupants.

Both systems appeared to be in vogue, generally the area basis in the case of unoccupied lands, and the *taram* mode in the case of the occupied lands ; but this was not certain nor uniform. Also based on *taram* rates on different parcels, a constructive standard of *maḍakku mā* as distinguished from the *virivu* or *parappu* or area–*mā* was evolved. The available data is inadequate to work out the mode of deriving the standard *mā* or *maḍakku mā.* But circumstantial evidence would not support any generalisation that *maḍakku mā* was more favourable than the *virivu* or area–*mā.* Whether the *taram* was all that scientifically applied based on strict productivity is open to serious doubt. For, the instances cited are enough to show that they were arbitrarily pegged or lowered.

Two issues arise : 1. Whether the *taram*-classification is based on productivity ? To this the answer appears to be clearly in the negative.

The *taram* in this note has been correctly rendered as "assessment-classification" and not a classification based on "productivity".[11]

True, when an assessment is fastened on the land, the nature of the soil, its

productivity and the yield and the number of crops and irrigation facilities enjoyed by the parcel having regard to the location of the field, whether at the head-reach or the middle or tail-end of the irrigation system-are all factors which should or could have been taken into acount. But, there are many instances noticed where the *taram* has been arbitrarily adopted, pegged or reduced to limit the assessment on the land. In fact the quantum of demand had been fixed first, and then the *taram* worked out on that basis.[12] (*tirutti payir seydu innellukku okka taram iṭṭukkoḷḷa-kkaḍavōmāgavum*). Lands purchased in the 14 th *taram* were assessed at the 20 th *taram* the difference between the two being treated as remission of *iṟai* in other words, the rate was reduced ad-hoc.[13]

The *nāṭṭār* of Mēlappaḷuvūr fixed the demand at 25 *kaḷañju* when they inducted an occupant and undertook not to fix the *taram* when they assigned the assessment - classification of lands at any rate higher than the demand fixed at 25 *kaḷañju*.[14] In 1048 A. D. Rājādhirāja ordered that the lands belonging to the temple of Tiruvāyppāḍidēvar be taxed according to the lowest grade *taram* as in the case of the (lands of) *Vishṇu* shrine at *Eṇṇāyiram*.[15] In 1041 A.D. the *mahā-sabhaiyār* of Tribhuvani agreed not to change the classification of the land or levy any *ēri āyam* or *Sēṟuvari* on it.[16]

In 1048 A.D. Rājādhirāja stipulated that the *taram* of the land granted to the temple and the college at Tribhuvani should not be altered even when the general classification of the lands in the township was effected.[17] The *mahāsabha* of the same township altered the classification of the land in accordance with the command of Rājādhirāja I in 1053 A.D.[18] Five years later (1058 A.D.), the same *sabhaiyār* altered the classification of the land at Puttūr already granted for the merit of Uḍaiya-Pirāṭṭiyār Pirāntakan Ulōgamādēviyār in accordance with the mandate of Rājarāja II.[19] Lands granted to two deities Tiruvayīndrapuṟattu Āḻvār and Vīranārāyaṇaviṇṇagar Āḻvār in 1079 A.D.[20] and a third granted to a poet (in 1097 A.D.[21] were all pegged at the 12th *taram* the *sabhai* of Tribhuvani obeying the orders of Kulōttuṅga-I. He ordered in 1103 A.D. that the *dēvadāna* lands in Peṇṇāḍam should be charged at half the rates.[22]

In Tiruviḍaimarudūr, in 1141-42 A.D,, the *mahasabhai* agreed to retain the assessment classification permanently even if the existing *taram* was done away with, and assessment was based on a revised classification, or in the alternative, even when *taram* was not adopted at all, but demand was charged on *parappu* or area-measurement basis-*taram - aḻindu - taram iḍitum taramiḍate parappile irukkilum*. The township agreed not to alter the rates fixed at the time of the sale.[23]

After fixing the land-demand at Tiruvārūr at 150 and odd *kalams* per *vēli* from the 12th year of *Kulōttuṅga-II* 1143-44 A.D.), the land being *dēvadāna-iṟaiyili*, the *sabhaiyār* agreed to maintain the demand at the rate, as the lands were not classified. But even, if subsequently the lands were to be classified resulting in an excess demand, the excess shall be borne by the township *(ūriṟ suṟikki)* and not shown on the temple lands.[24]

The king had ordered that lands in occupancy of Subrahmaṇya temple at Chidambaram bearing assessment-classification (*taram peṟṟa nilam*) shall not be revised higher than what they would have to pay at the 8th *taram.*[25] He further ordered lands assessed higher than at the 8th *taram* be brought down to the 8th *taram* and those bearing an assessment classification below 8 be continued as before. This was executed by the *nilam aḷarpōr perumakkaḷ* (the land survey committee) of Kulōttuṅga II.

In Tirunelvēli, Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I restricted the assessment to the 8th classification as was revised earlier and further brought down the *taram* with a view to reduce the rate of land-demand.[26]

The instances cited are enough to show that the classification has been argued on the basis of assessment, and that the *taram* classification does not *ipso facto* denote the productivity of land or any other objective norms. There have been distortions deliberately introduced in the numerous instances cited. As the evidence forthcoming is from temple grants deliberately charged at concessional rates, it will not reveal the mode of *taram* fixation adopted for the fully charged lands paying full land revenue to the state.

It is also evident that the assessment classification was liable to revision, and at the time of such revision some lands were deliberately pegged at the *taram* rates assigned to them originally at the time of the grant to a temple or sale to a benefactor. For lands not earlier assigned *taram* could also be assigned later, and the resultant assessment classifications could be assigned later, and the resultant assessment classifications could be folded into the *maḍakku* or the constructive conversion factor of the assessed lands of the township.[27] Also, perhaps, the higher the number of *taram* the higher was the rate of assessment.

II. Which of the two assessment modes, one on the basis of the *taram* and the other on the basis of area-measurement *virivu* was more favourable to the occupants and the cultivators ?

On this point, Subbarayalu seems to suggest that the *maḍakku mā* rates were unusually excessive.[28] This is not self-evident. If the assessment rates are fixed and the co-efficient established, there has to be internal consistency between the rate per unit of extent and *maḍakku mā.* They cannot vary qualitatively. Where assessment classifications adopted were deliberately or consciously made favourable and concessional, the *maḍakku mā* that resulted from the constructive computation could also have been only favourable. Also we notice in the inscriptions of the period that the occupants, the tenants and the cultivators were deliberately preferring the *maḍakku mā* as the basis for calculating some of their obligations, in their attempt to contain the higher demands made on them.

Hence, one cannot be dogmatic on the qualitative excess of the rate under the *maḍakku mā* computation.

Substantial evidence from some inscriptions indicate that the cultivators and the tenants insisted on the *maḍakku mā* being the unit-basis for the fixation and demand of the obligations due from them.

When this was altered on the basis of *virivu* or *parappu* or area extent, they protested and urged the *status quo ante* to prevail. There are other instances where the *virivu* was adopted as the basis. This is clear from the joint deliberations of the occupants and the cultivating tenants at Mannārguḍi.[29]

If the *maḍakku mā* had been more onerous as the basis for levy of the rate of obligations and cash-dues, there is no reason why the cultivators, the tenants and others who had to render the *kuḍimi* obligation should prefer that to the *virivu* in some cases, especially when they sought to reverse the changes in demand made on the basis of *virivu* and to restore the *status quo ante*. Indeed to the extent the *tarams* of individual parcels of land were artificially depressed, the *maḍakku mā* as a consequence could also have been cumulatively favourable.

The conclusion is that both the bases for assessment were in force side by side, one the *maḍakku mā* and the other *virivu*. The former expressed the cumulative effect in terms of a standard *maḍakku mā*- the different *tarams* and the extents under each contained in a grant or holding. Both have had their points of preference, and it is difficult to categorically state that one was more advantageous than the other. It follows, as Subbarayalu mentions, that any quantum or rate of land-demand can only be interpreted and quantified only when the basis adopted, whether it was on *maḍakku* or on *Virivu* was known.

In the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions two other terms occur which appear to convey the same distinction as *maḍakku mā* and *parappile*. The distinction is between "*iṟaippaḍi iṭṭa nilam*" and *pāḍakappaḍi*. In an inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara at Kōḍaganallūr, this distinction is borne out by the manner of concession extended to the temple.

Originally a parcel of land, according to land assessment fixed was equal to *mukkālē oru mā mundirigai arai*. As a parcel of land (i.e. area measurement) it was 1 *mā*. But the demand was fixed, on the basis of the rates prevalant in the township, at *1/2 mā araikkāṇi* (5/160) later even this rate was revised as at *1/2 mā mundirigai* (9/320).[30]

It can be inferred that there was a dual system of land accounting in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom as well, one on the area measurement of parcels of land *(pāḍagam)* and the other on the commuted extent based on the land assessment that this extent was charged. The higher the rates of assessment at par the commuted extent was also higher. But the concessions in the rates of assessment shown got reflected in the diminished extent of the assessment extent correspondingly. This implied a normative basis of the optimal-assessment demand to standard extent which should have varied from area to area and from time to time.

Notes :

1 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIV, No. 245, *Ibid*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, No. 245.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 600.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 375.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 440, ll. 79, 84

Kaṇṇār	*Sadhuram*
1	3
3	3

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 257; *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 248; *Ibid*. Vol. IV, No. 223; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 633 and *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 303.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 633.

8 See his paper "Classification of the Land and Assessment of Land Tax A. D. 950 to 1300 a study"—*Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress*, XXXVIII. Session 1977, n. 13 and 14 pp. 341-46.

9 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 257.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 303.

11 I have, it should be noted, revised my interpretation and the rendering of this term, which I was inclined originally to interpret as "productivity-classification" having regard to fertility of soil and command facilities etc.

12 *S.I.I.*, XVII. No. 600.

13 *Ibid.*, XXIV, No. 57.

14 *Ibid.*, XIX, No. 378.

15 *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No. 330.

16 *Ibid.*, 1912, No 187; *Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 566.

17 *A.R.Ep.*, 1919, No 176.

18 *Ibid.*, 1919, No. 188; *Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 583.

19 *Ibid.*, 1919, No. 111.

20 *Ibid.*, No. 178.

21 *Ibid.*, 1917, No. 186.

22 *Ibid.*, 1919, No. 198.

23 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 303.

24 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 597.

25 *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, No. 262.

26 *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 413 and 414.

27 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 236.

28 *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

29 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 48, 49, 50, 57 and 58 (Please see p. 68 supra, and the note 7 that follows in Appendix–I.) Note : After I wrote the text of the main lectures, Subbarayalu brought to my notice his learned paper on land assessment in which he has taken pains to examine the concept of *maḍakku mā*. The lines of thought of both of us, though each worked them out independently lead to the same conclusion on the content of the *maḍakku-mā*. I have also re-examined the evidence and have made a significant departure from my earlier interpretation of *maḍakku-mā*, as based on productivity. I now feel it safer to treat it and interpret it as based on assessment classification (without bringing in the concept of productivity). But my other conclusions on the preferential character of one mode over the other, somewhat, differ from Subbarayalu's for the reasons set out above. I might add that Subbarayalu's interpretation of Prof. K.A.N. Sastri's statement in *Cōḷas* at p. 529 (2nd Edition 1955) is not what the great professor had in mind. He was clearly aware of the "Cowle" system or gradual enhancement of tax over a period on reclaimed lands or the plantation crops which took longer time to yield. The Ālaṅguḍi inscription on which the Professor's statement is based (*A.R.Ep.*, 1899, No. 3), though fragmentary, refers not to arecanut-palms but also to wet lands which were on a fixed rental basis (*oṭṭu*). That was revised and the demand in terms of grain and cash were fixed. This was a change in the form of holding or tenure, when it was assessed to pay at the rates at which the *nāḍu* collected the dues (*kāśu nāḍu koḷḷa nichchayitta paḍiyē*) and paddy at the rates prevalent (in the *nāḍu*). The reference to areca-palms in the inscription has, perhaps, led Subbarayalu to equate the Professor's general statement on the periodical revision of classification with concessional graduated scale of demand taken for areca palms and plantains. But the periodical revision of assessment of all cultivated lands was clearly in evidence and even the inter-change of the basis from *maḍakku to virivu and vice-versa* are attested by the instances cited in this note. As such the Professor's general statement "that the revenue from agricultural lands was periodically reassessed, and the classification of the land revised from time to time" is, indeed, amply borne out by the inscriptions.

But whether such revisions were in accordance with the changes in cropping fertility (*et al* and so on) is an aspect on which further evidence will be necessary, and investigations should be directed on this aspect.

Thirdly, to argue classification on the basis of assessment is no medieval deflection. It was adopted even in modern revenue settlement in British times as explained in my last note in appendix-I.

I am grateful to Subbarayalu for his courtesy and furnishing me with a copy of his learned paper which is very incisive in its analysis, and written with clarity.

30 *A.R.Ep.*, 1933, No. 204.

10 A SUR INSCRIPTION FROM UDAYAPUR IN MADHYA PRADESH

N. M. Ganam

The inscription belonging to the time of the Sūr king Islām Shāh is from Udayapūr, a town (23° 54' N; 78° 6' E) situated in the Bāsoda tahsil of Vidishā district in Madhya Pradesh. It lies about six kilometres from the nearest railway station Bāreth which is on Bhōpāl–Bīna main line of of the Central Railway. It is also connected by road with the tahsil and district headquarters which lie towards its south-west respectively at the distance of about 13 kilometres and 55 kilometres.[1]

Udayapūr was a town of considerable importance, splendour and architectural grandeur during ancient period as is indicated by the traces of an old stone fortification wall and ruins of ancient temples. The town is said to have been founded by the Paramāra king Udayāditya who ruled over Mālwā from 1059-81 A.D. He also built there the famous temple called after him as Udayēśvara dedicated to god Śiva.[2]

Udayapūr also appears to have remained a place of sufficient importance during the period of Muslim rule. In the history of Islamic period, we find no reference to it in the chronicles till the reign of Akbar, but we have however an epigraphical evidence from Udayapūr to show that it was occupied by the Tughluqs.[3] Udayapūr remained under Muslim occuption later on of the Mālwā Sulṭāns, the Sūrs and the Mughals as is mainly known from the inscriptions found at the place. All these have been listed in the Annual Epigraphical Reports of the Survey and some of them even published in the issues of the departmental journal *Epigraphia Indica–Arabic and Persian Supplement* and other journals.[4] During the period of the Mughal emperor Akbar, Udayapūr was the *Pargana* headquarters of the Chandērī *Sarkār* in the *Sūba* of Mālwā[5] and this administrative division continued in the times of Jahāngīr and Shān Jahān and even upto later Mughals as is indicated by the records of these rulers from the place[6] and other records.

The epigraph under review is found engraved on a slab measuring 43×63 cm. which is fixed on the central *miḥrāb* of a mosque in Paṭhānon-kā-Maḥalla.[7] The text consists of nine lines of writing in Arabic and Persian prose executed in relif in ordinary Naskh script. The Arabic portion of the text comprising the First Creed, *Bismi'llāh* and the Throne verse of *Qur'ān* occupies the first six lines; while the historical matter in Persian is contained in the following three lines and records that the mosque was constructed in the reign of Islīm Shāh (Islām Shāh) son of Sher Shāh by Khān-i-A'zam Jangī Khān Jhajjū (or Chajjū) during

the governorship of Masnad-i-'Ālī Mas'ūd Khān son of Mubārak Chāzi·

In the lower border below the Persian text is incised a one line inscription in Sanskrit in *Nāgarī* characters. Though not properly legible, it contains the name of the architect (*Sūtradhāra*) which reads like Ismal (i.e. Ismā'il).

The text in Arabic and Persian reads as under:

Text

1. Kalima.

2-6 Bismi'llāh and Āyatu'l-Kursī

7. Dar'ahd-i-bandagī Ḥadṛat Islīm Shāh bin Sher Shāh Sulṭān Khallada'llāhu Mulkuhu

8. Kaz'amal-i-bandagī Masnad-i-'Ālī Mas'ūd Khān bin Mubārak Ghāzī Wa (rect)īn Masjid binā

9. Kard Khān-i-[A]' zam Jangī Khān Jhajju (or Chajjū) Zi Istiqbāl Shuhūr Sana Sitta (wa) Khāmsīn (wa) tis'amāya māh-i-Ramadān[u'l] Mubārak (?).

Translation

1. First Creed

2-6. Bismi'llāh and Throne verse[9]

7. In the reign of His Majesty Ḥadrat Islīm Shāh son of Sher Shāh Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom

8. (and) during the administration (i.e. governorship) of the revered Masnad-i-'Ālī Mas'ūd Khān son of Mubārak Ghāzī, this mosque was constructed

9. (by) Khān-i-A'zam (i.e. great Khān) Jangī Khān Jhajjū (or Chajjū) in the beginning of the months of the year (A.H.) Six (and) fifty (and) nine-hundred (in the) month of auspicious Ramadān (Ramadān (A.H.) 956 = September-October 1549).

As seen above, this epigraph is important in more than one aspect. First it refers to the reign of Islām Shāh who ruled from 1545 to 1554 A.D. So far not many Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the Sūr kings particularly from the Mālwā region which now formed part of the present Madhya Pradesh have come to light. The province of Mālwā was brought under the sway by Sher Shāh in 1542 after defeating Mallū Khān *alias* Qādir Shāh of Māṇḍu and routing Puran Mal of Raisen. Sher Shāh bestowed the whole kingdom of Mālwā to his general Shujā' at Khān and also appointed *faujdārs* at different places in the province.[10] Mālwā continued to be held firmly by his son and successor Islām Shāh who in the later part of his reign made

Gwalior, the permanent capital of his kingdom and began to rule from there until his death in 1554.[11]

It may not be without interest to note that in this inscription, the name of the king is spelt as Islīm Shāh. This name occurs in a couple of other inscriptions of this ruler.[12] Islām Shāh is variously called as Salīm Shāh, Islām Shāh and Islīm Shāh in the chronicles as well as in the epigraphs.

Secondly the text provides the name of two high officials, namely Khān-i-A'zam Jangī Khān Jhajjū who constructed the mosque and Masnad-i-'Ālī Mas'ūd Khān son of Mubārak Ghāzī during whose governorship the work was carried out. The identification of Mas'ūd Khān and his father Mubārak Ghāzī is difficult to establish with any amount of certainty. We know one Mas'ūd Khān who is found mentioned in the record of Sher Shāh, dated A. H. 947 (1540 A.D.) from Sākit in Uttar Pradesh.[13] He can not be identified with one under review as the former is mentioned as the son of Mas'ūd Khān, whereas Mas'ūd Khān of our record is the son of Mubārak Ghāzī. Mas'ūd Khān of our record could be identical with another Sūr noble Mas'ūd Khān who alongwith other *amīrs* helped prince Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr in his contest for the throne after the death of Islām Shāh.[14] If this identification is correct, the epigraph would provide new information about his later career. In the alternative, Mas'ūd Khān may be a different official in which case too, the epigraph would be an important document.

As for Mubārak Ghāzī[15] the father of Mas'ūd Khān, his identification is also not established. For want of any further data it is difficult to say if he is identical with Mubārak Khān of Narwar inscriptions dated A.H. 914 (1509 A.D.) of Sikandar Lodī from Madhya Pradesh. He is stated in the records to have been appointed to administer the fort of Narwar after its conquest by the king.[16]

Also it has not been possible to trace any reference in the historical works available to me about Khān-i-A'zam Jangī Khān Jhajjū who built the mosque. If the suffix which is read as Jhajjū or Chajjū with his name is indicative of the proper name, it would mean that Jangī Khān may be the title borne by him. That Jangī also held the title Khān-i-A'zam, suggests that he was a distinguished officer. It is likely that he might have held the *Jāgir* of Udayapūr during the period under study.

To sum up, the present inscription constitutes an important source for the history of the Mālvā region of Madhya Pradesh under the Sūr dynasty. It supplies as is clear from its study not only important information in the political field but also indicates on the other hand the building activity during the period.

Notes :-

1 *Madhya Pradesh District Gazetteers* Vidisha (Bhopal, 1979), p. 334.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 334; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIV (Oxford, 1908), p. 110; For the

history of Udayapūr and its monuments see, Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. VII (Varanasi, 1966), pp. 81-88 ; *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 65-69.

3 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 1964-65, Nos., D, 77-78 ; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LV (1926), p. 5, pls. I & II.

4 *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 102-11 ; *Ibid.*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 94 ; *Ibid.*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 77-81 ; *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 155-57 ; *Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1968, pp. 62-64 ; EIAPS., 1969 ; Indian Ant., Vol. LV (1926), p. 5, pl. I & II, *Gwalior Rājya Kē Abhilēkh*, p. 75, No. 564 ; *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, (Reprint, Delhi 1985), pp. 715-18.

5 Abū'l-Fadl, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), p. 463.

6 *AREp.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 107-08 ; *Ibid.*, 1965-66, No. D, 155 ; *IHQ*, Vol. III, No. 4, (1927), pp. 715-18.

7 *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, No. D, 111.

8 The term is to be taken in its literal meaning, 'months' and not as indicating the *Shuhūr* era.

9 *Qur'ān* Chapter II, verse 255.

10 Sarwānī, *Tārikh-i-Sāhī*, tr. B.P. Ambashthyā (Patna, 1974), pp. 540-545 ; Budāūnī, *Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 365-67 ; Qānungo, *Sher Shāh & His times* (N. Delhi, 1965), p. 333 ; *IG*, Vol IX, pp. 338-40.

11 Budaunī, Vol. I, pp. 382, 411-415.

12 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1923-24, p. 28, pl. XIII.

13 *EIAPS*, 1967, p. 39.

14 Budaunī, Vol. I, pp. 423-24.

15 The term *Ghāzī* literary means a participant in a religious war and is normally applied to survivors thereof.

16 *EIAPS*, 1965, pp. 31-33.

11 TWO NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALLENAHALLI

C. S. Seshadri

In the month of August 1987, during the village to village survey for anti-quarian remains four inscriptions were noticed in the village Mallēnahaḷḷi and the same were brought to the notice of the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore circle. Considering the importance of the inscriptions their estampages were taken, transcripts were prepared and the records were photographed. With the kind permission of Dr. B. Narasimhaiah, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore the same are being edited for the first time in the pages of this journal. I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) for his kind guidance in preparing this paper.

Mallēnahaḷḷi is a small village in the Shikaripur taluk, 20 kms north-west of Shiralakoppa on the Shiralakoppa-Chikkērūr road, within the limits of Shimoga District, not far away from the ancient cultural centres like Banavāsi and Baḷḷigāvi. The village appears to have played a significant role in the history of many dynasties and three epigraphs[1] of this place, issued during the reign of 1. Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II, dated A.D, 1198, 2. Sēüṇa Siṅghaṇa II, dated A.D. 1223, and 3. another inscription dated A.D. 1423 are already known.

Of the two inscriptions being edited here, out of four, no. 1 is engraved on a dressed granite pillar. Major portion of the pillar was buried under earth. The pillar is about 1.5 m in height with the central square portion measuring about 40 cm. The pillar can be divided into four parts. The upper most part, octoganal in shape is rounded off at the top. The second part is square in shape but is decorated at the top on one side, probably the front portion, with upturned three lotus petals, the middle one being full and the corner ones being half. The square portion of the front side is neatly dressed and is marked with deep border lines. The dressed portion has the inscription of seven lines. The third part is also square but bigger than the above one, and also the front side has a vertical projected band at the centre. The lowest part is bigger than the above one and also square but undressed. The pillar is comparable to the usual *yūpa-stambha*.[2]

The inscription which is in good state of preservation is in archaic Kannaḍa script which was prevalent in the 7th-8th century A.D. and bears close resemblance to the characters of the Diḍgūr inscription[3] on the one hand and the Aṇṇigēri inscription[4] issued in the sixth regnal year of the Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II on the other. The lines are not parallel to each other and the size of the letters vary from bottom to top ; the letters are not deeply incised.

Among the vowels only *a* occurs once in line 7 as in *ambadi*. The medial short and long *i* are differentiated by a complete circle and a spiral drawn at the top of the letters as in the expression *svasti śrī*

in line 1. The letters *k*, *s*, *r* and *m* are well developed.

The record presents a king named *Kīrtivarma*, under whom a certain Dōsiyara was governing the Banavāsi-Twelve thousand province. Dēvaman, who obviously belonged to a family called Vichchira, made a gift of uncultivable and cultivable lands as well as *gōsāsa*.[5]

Though the inscription is undated, on palaeographical grounds and in comparison with the Diḍgūr and Aṇṇigēri inscriptions, it can be ascribed to the third quarter of 8th century A.D.

Dōsiyara occurs in a modified form in the Diḍgūr inscription of Kattiyara as Dōsi and in yet another form as Dōsirāja in the Vakkalēri plates[6] of Kīrtivarman II, who has already been identified as the subordinate of the king Kīrtivarman II of the Chalukya family, governing the Banavāsi-12000 province. Since the name of the king and of the local governor are known from the above records, it may be said that the king Kīrtivarman referred to in the present inscription is none other than Kīrtivarman II of the Chalukya family, referred to also as Kattiyara in the neighbouring Diḍgūr inscription. However, it is interesting to note that the overlord of Dōsiyara is mentioned as Kattiyara in the Diḍgūr inscription and Kīrtivarman in the present inscription though the provenance of these two inscriptions issued by the same Dōsiyara falls within 40 kms. The undated inscription from Diḍgūr (Dharwar district) mentions Dōsi as the governor of the province of Banavāsi-12000[7] (i.e. Kadamba-maṇḍala) under Kattiyara's universal rule. Similar to Diḍgūr inscription the mention of Banavāsi as a twelve thousand province in the present inscription is another earliest direct epigraphical reference to a numerical division. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the present inscription is the only epigraphical reference available so far of any king belonging to the early Chalukyan family in the Shimoga District.

Inscription no. 2 is engraved on a well-dressed 25 cm. thick rectangular stone which is rounded at the top. The inscription is engraved on one side within a rectangular space (35 x 10 cm) below an ornamental motif. The borders at the top and bottom are marked with a number of circles.

The language of the inscription is Kannaḍa and the script is also archaic Kannaḍa, assignable on palaeographical grounds to c. 8th century A. D. The letters are neatly and deeply engraved. Initial *ā* occurs in lines 1 and 2 in the expressions Ārasar and Ālamāran. Initial *ū* occurs in line 2 in the expression ūrāḷe. The medial short and long *i* are distinguished respectively by a complete circle and a spiral drawn at the top of the letters as in the words *svasti śrī* and Siriyamma in line 1. The letters *k*, *r*, *m* and *n* are fully developed.

The inscription mentions Mārakke-arasa as the ruler of *nāḍu* and Kesugallara Siriyamma as the administrator of the *ūru*. It also refers to a certain Ālamāra-Gāṅgeya of Madeṛa family and a Vichcha-raperggaḷan.

The record is neither dated nor mentions the name of the reigning king, but the mention of Mārakke-arasa as administering the *nāḍu* reminds us of Mārakkarasa mentioned in a few other inscriptions as governing the Banavāsi-12000 province. He is referred to in the inscriptions from Narēgal[8] and Hombli.[9] In yet another record from Siḍenūr[10] in the Hirekerur taluk of Dharwar district, Mārakka-arasar is referred as governing the Banavāsi-nāḍu as a subordinate of Dhōrapparasa i. e. Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva (780-94 A.D.). He is also mentioned as Māra in the Kachavi record belonging to the reign of the same emperor. One of the records from Nūlgēri[12] in Dharwar district, belonging to the time of Kannara i. e., Kṛishṇa I, mentions his feudatory Mārakersa as administering the *nāḍu.* The present inscription also mentions Mārakke-arasa as the ruler of the *nāḍu* which may be taken to represent Banavāsi-nāḍu. The characters of the Narēgal inscription and that of Hombli are similar and have been assigned to c. 8 th century A.D. The characters of the present record also resemble the above two inscriptions and hence, on circumstantial evidence and on palaeographical grounds it could also be assigned to the last quarter of 8 th century A.D. The name Kesugalla from where Siriyamma, the administrator of the *ūru* hailed, is probably the findspot of the record i.e., Mallēnahaḷḷi.

The text of the two inscriptions are given below.

Text[13]

No. 1.

1 Svasti[1*] śrī Kīrtivarman pṛithu-

2 vīrāndya(jya)geye śrī Dōsiya-

3 rān-Vanabha(vā)si-pannirchāsira-

4 mann pa(pa)ripa(pā)ḷise Vichchira

5 Dē[va]man Pūḍa[la]ru paḍa-

6 lu veḷemataru gōsa[sā]sa

7 mu aṁbadiru[he] vagi[yu] koḍa.

Translation

Hail ! While the glorious Kīrtivarma was reigning over the earth, and while Dōsiyara was governing the Banavāsi-twelve thousand, Dēvaman of the Vichchira family granted land, *gōsāsa* etc.

Text[13]

No. 2.

1 Svasti[1*] śrī Mārakke-ārasar nāḍāḷe Kesugallara Siriyamman

2 Ūrāḷe Māderara Ālamāran = Gāṅgēyaṁ Bichchara-perggaḷan

Translation

Hail! While Mārakke-arasa was ruling the *nāḍu* and Kesugallara Siriyamma was administering the *ūru*, and a certain Ālamāra-Gāṅgeya of Mādeṛa family .... Bichchara-perggaḷan.

Notes :

1 *E.C.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 173–75.

2 *M.A.R.*, 1931, p. 23.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 251 ff.

4 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI pt. I, No. 5.

5 J.F. Fleet has conjectured that *gōsāsa* which is (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 255) not found in dictionaries is an amplied form of *gōsa*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *gōshṭha* 'a cow-pen' a station of cow-herds As, however, this meaning is not conclusively established yet the word itself will be used, without translation. Other cases in which the same word, *gōsāsa* occurs are 1. The Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva ; (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p 125). 2. An inscription of the time of Amōghavarsha I at Chiñchli 874 A.D. and 3. An inscription at Guḍigere, (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 253).

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp 200 ff.

7 Ramesh, K. V., *Chalukyas of Vātāpi*, p. 170.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 162.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 257.

10 *A.R.Ep.*, 1935-36, B. K. No. 94.

11 *Prog. Kan Research, Bombay State*, 1947-52, p. 43.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

13 From impressions.

12 CHUVVIURU GRANT OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN - I YEAR - 9

M. V. Visweswara

In the month of July, a set of five inscribed copper plates strung on a copper ring bearing a bronze seal was submitted to the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore Circle, Bangalore for scrutiny by Sri Dinesan Natesan, a leading dealer in antiquities. Considering the academic importance of the plates a transcript of the inscription was prepared and the photographs of the seal and the plates were taken before returning the record. The provenance of the plates, however, could not be ascertained. The photographs of the plates were taken without cutting the ring holding them together and taking them out[1]. Thus some of the letters on the inscribed faces of the plates are seen covered by a portion of the ring in the photographs. With the kind permission of Sri Dinesan Natesan and Dr. B. Narasimhaiah, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore Circle, Bangalore, the plates are edited. I am thankful to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) for his kind guidance in deciphering the plates and preparing this paper.

The set consists of five plates held together by a ring with seal. The writing is engraved on one side of the first and last plates and on both sides of the three middle plates. There are traces of two lines (which are not legible) on the second side of the fifth plate. The rims of the plates are slightly raised and the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The forty lines of writing in the epigraph are distributed on the plates as follows :

I-5 lines, IIa-6 lines, IIb-6 lines, IIIa-6 lines, IIIb-5 lines, IVa-4 lines, IVb-4 lines and V-4 lines.

The plates measure almost uniformly 17.5 cms in length, 5.1 cms in breadth and 0.3 to 0.4 cms in thickness. A circular hole of about 1.3 cms diameter is cut at the centre of the margin at a distance of 1 cm from the left border of each plate. The hole, for the ring to pass through, was made as in the other records, before the incision of the charter. The size of the letters in the charter is slightly bigger than those in the Vunnaguravayapālem plates and are more neatly, deeply and carefully engraved. The ends of the ring which is about 7.5 cms in diameter are soldered into the bottom of a seal, 4 cms in diameter having a circular surface.

The central part of this counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the representation of a couchant bull with its head towards the proper left and face slightly turned towards front. There appear to be a crescent and a *liṅga* above the head of the bull which is known to have been the emblem of the Pallavas. The upper part of the surface, above the back of the bull is occupied by a crude representation

looking like a deity seated on a pedestal. Below the bull, there is a legend in three *aksharas* which appear to read *Śrī–ṇadi* standing for *śrī–Nandi*. The letters are similar to those on the seal of the Vunnaguravayapālem plates, and probably appears to be a *biruda* of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I.

The date of the charter is quoted (lines 31–32) as Wednesday, *Kārttika Paurṇimā–* in the ninth regnal year of king Paramēśvaravaɹman I. The importance of the date will be discussed later on.

The characters belong to the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet of the last quarter of seventh century A. D. They generally resemble the characters employed in the Vunnaguravayapālem plates on the one hand and the Rēyūru grant on the other but are more uniform and show better calligraphy than either of them. Compared to the characters of the Vunnaguravayapālem plates the *aksharas* sepecially *ñ, ch, y, ṛ* etc appear early. The usage of *śakaṭarēpha* in most of the cases for *r* is noteworthy. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs four times in lines 20, 21, 26 and 32, *ā* occurs only once in line 37, *i* and *ī* do not occur independently ; *i* as medial short and long vowels, however, are distinguished by a complete circle and a spiral respectively drawn at the top of the letter ; *u* occurs four times in lines 13, 16 and 17 and *ē* occurs twice in lines 19 and 23. The *upadhmānīya* has been employed many times but in almost all the cases the *sandhi* has not been observed.

The language of the inscription is in Sanskrit. The major part of it is written in prose, although there are four stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre (lines 26–31 and 36–38). Three of them are the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses whereas the fourth contains the name and other details of the executor of the document which is also found in a modified form in the Vunnaguravayapālem plates and the Rēyūru grant. Lines containing the epithets of Kūḷavarman (lines 33–37) are examples of good literary prose.

Among orthographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the general doubling of many of the consonants following *r* in a conjunct letter with the lonely exception of *rsha* in line 26. The rules of *sandhi* which are optional in prose composition, have not been observed in some cases. Cases of *sandhi* in expression like *pāpaś = śārīra* in line 25 are interesting. The writing exhibits a general tendency to use the class nasal and except in a few cases (cf. *saṁbhūtiḥ* in line 37) the *anusvāra* has been changed to class nasals in *sandhi*. The final *m* at the end of a stanza have been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* in two cases (lines 29 and 31). In another case it has been similarly changed before a vowel (line 32). The writing is generally free from errors and the instances of wrong spellings have been corrected in the body of the text itself.

In style, the record under discussion closely resembles that of the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallava rulers.[2] Among the copper plate grants of the later Pallavas of Simhavishṇu line, this characteristic is noticeble only in the Vunnaguravayapālem plates of Paramēśvaravarman I and the Rēyūru grant of Narasimhavarman II. The Kūram plates issued

by the same king Paramēśvaravarman I shows major deviation from the above charters. The records of the early Pallava rulers of the later Pallava line are mostly lithic epigraphs. The copper-plate grant of this house, issued by rulers who flourished before Nandivarman Pallavamalla are only four in number, viz., the Vunnaguravayapālem plates, Kūram plates and the present charter, all issued by Paramēśvaravarman I and the Rēyūru grant of Narasimhavarman II. Of these, the Kūram plates, strikingly bears close resemblance to the grants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla in content and diction.

The present record begins with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the *maṅgala* ; *jitaṁ bhagavatā* and adds *lōkatrayaṁ Mahāvishṇunā*– "victorious is the lord Mahāvishṇu who won over the three worlds". The next possage refers to the issue of the charter from Kāñchipura. In lines 2 to 13, the donor of the grant, king Paramēśvaravarman I, is introduced as the son of Mahēndravikramavarman (i.e., Mahēndravarman II, *circa* 668–69 A.D.) ; the grandson of Narasiṁhavarman I (circa 630–68 A.D.) and the great-grandson of Mahēndravarman I (*circa* 600–30 A.D.). Three epithets *sva–bāhu–bal-ārjjit–ōrjjita-kshatra-tapōnidhi, vidhi–vihita–sarvamaryyādā* and *sthiti–sthita* are applied in the present record to Mahēndravarman I.

The details pertaining to the dynasty to which the donor belongs etc. are given in lines 11 and 12. The Pallava family, to which the donor of the charter belonged, is introduced as belonging to the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, as having performed many *aśvamēdha* sacrifices, and as having conquered by their own prowess many a king.

It is interesting to note here that the Rēyūru grant applies the epithet *yathāvad-āhṛith-āśvamēdh–ādy-anēka–kratu yājin* to Paramēśvaravarman I. The Vunnaguravayapālem plates as also the present charter of Paramēśvaravarman, however, do not credit him with the celebration of the horse sacrifice.

Lines 13–26 record the grant proper. The donee is described as an expert in *Vēdas* and the *Vēdāṅgas*. He was a *shaṭkarma-nirata* and a celibate. The epithet *svayam-pākāya* is interesting and appears to be the earliest epigraphical reference to such a system. Curiously the name and other details of the donee has not been incorporated. The *hamsapada* mark between lines 20 and 21 exactly above the letter *ne*, however, suggests that the name and other details of the donee are not included in the text and they are not purposefully omitted.[3]

The amount of gift is mentioned as *ashṭōttaraśata nivartana parimāṇaṁ* and the area formed part of *Chuvvi-ūru* village situated on the northern bank of the river *Kshīranadī* within the *Bhūmi–rāshṭra*. The area was made a *brahmadēya* and endowed with all exemptions. The king's order was addressed to the inhabitants of the said village which is stated to have been granted for the increase of the longevity, power and prosperity of the donor. The officers were ordered to exempt the gift from the collection of taxes and other levies. The transgresser of the order was liable to physical punishment.

The above section in the charter is followed by three of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas *'arśāḥ-ślōkāḥ'* in lines 26-31[4]

In lines 31-32 it is stated that the king made the grant on the *Kārttika-Paurṇamāsya*, *Budha - divasa* in his ninth regnal year. A prose passage and a verse that follow in lines 32 - 38 says that the executor of the grant was Kūḷavarman who was the son of Tyāgi - Pallava and the ruler of Nandakuṟṟa. The contents of the prose passage and the verse is also found in lines 20-21 of the Rēyūru grant in the following modified form :

Sōmāditya - suta[ḥ] śrīmān=Nanda-kuṟṟa-nṛipēśvaraḥ[।*]*

ājñaptiś=śāsanasyāsya Rājāditya[ḥ] pratāpavān[॥*]*

The epithets of Kūḷavarman in lines 33-36 form part of well composed literary prose and the pun on the word Sōmāditya on one of the occasions is specially noteworthy. The additional particulars about the executor of the grant establish that "the chiefs of the Nandakuṟṟa" were no doubt the feudatories of the Pallava kings of Kāñchī at least during the reigns of Paramēśvaravarman I and Narasiṁha-varman II. Rājāditya, son of Sōmāditya, was preceded in the rulership of Nanda-kuṟṟa by Kūḷavarman, son of Tyāgi-Pallava whose name seems to point to his descent from the Pallava family.

Lines 38-39 record that the document was drafted as a *vijayamānya* by Lōkā-bhirāma, a Māḷava - kshatriya. The record then ends with the *maṅgala : svasty=astu gō- Brahmaṇēbhyaḥ*, 'let happiness come to the cows and Brāhmaṇas". The last line (40) gives the name of the scribe as Bhīma, the grandson of a goldsmith, (*maryyādā suvarṇṇakāra*).

The inscription is of much significance from several points of view. Mainly the importance lies in its date. This is the second dated inscription of Paramēśvara-varman I, the first one being the Vunna-guravayapālem plates issued in his ninteenth regnal year[5]. On the basis of the Vunna-guravayapālem plates D. C. Sircar has stated the Paramēśvaravarman ascended the throne between Dec. 668 and Dec. 669 A. D. and the 19th regnal year in which the said charter was issued would fall between Dec. 687 and Dec. 688. Thus the ninth regnal year falls between Dec. 677 and Dec. 678[6]. The exact date is given as *Kārttika Paurṇamāsya Budha-divasa*, corresponding to 25th September of 676 A.D.

The following geographical names are mentioned in the inscription : Kāñchīpura, Chuvvi-ūru (in which the land granted is located) situated on the northern bank of Kshīranadī ; Bhūmi-rāshṭra in which the gift village is situated ; Vēnūru, Pulikallu, the border villages and Nanda-kuṟṟa which appears to have been the capital of the local chief who executed the grant. Of these, Kāñchīpura, is the erstwhile capital of the Pallavas ; while Nandakuṟṟa referred to also in the Vunnagu-ravayapālem plates and the Rēyūru grant has been tentatively identified with modern Nandavaram in the Udayagiri Taluk of Nellore District.[7] Kshīranadī seems to be no other than the modern Peṇṇār running along the Nellore District. Bhūmi-rāshṭra to which *Chuvvi-ūru* belonged is referred to in the Vunnaguravayapālem plates as Pūmi-rāshṭra and appears to have comprised

northern and north-eastern parts of the Nellore District, lying to the south of the ancient Muṇḍa-rāshṭra.[8]

There are three Pulikallu villages in the Nellore District, respectively with the following latitude and longitude as per the Gazeteer of India and Pakistan (1 : 1 million map).

1. Pulikallu 13° 45' Lat ; 78° 10' Long.
2. Pulikallu 13° 15' Lat ; 79° 10' Long.
3. Pulikollu 14° 27' Lat ; 79° 37' Long.

The Pulikallu village mentioned in the present charter may be tentatively identified with Pulikollu (14° 27' lat ; 79° 37' long), located in the Rapuru Taluk of Nellore District. Ṛāpaṟu-daṇḍa (cantonement of Ṛāpaṟu) may be tentatively identified with the present Rapuru, the taluk head-quarters of the same name in the Nellore District. The other geographical names occurring in the present charter do not find mentioned in any of the modern maps.

Besides the above geographical data names of the tanks like Chēkōḍumuḍu-taṭāka, Pḻāmuḍudu-taṭāka, Kārañchēḍu-taṭāka and Gōni-taṭāka are mentioned in the inscription. The geographical name Ṛāpaṟu daṇḍa (cantonement of Ṛāpaṟu ?) is again interesting as we have very few names beginning with Ṛ.

The importance of the charter may be summarised as follows :-

1. The present charter is the second dated record of the Pallava king Paramēś-varavarman I, issued in his ninth regnal year corresponding to Wednesday 25th October 676 A.D.

2. The present charter also refers to *aśvamēdha* sacrifice not as performed by Paramēśvaravarman I but as applied to the entire family.

3. Though the name and other details of the donee are omitted, the term *svayampākāya* qualifying the donee is interesting and not met with in epigraphical records. So far, five inscriptions of this king are known including two copper plates.[9] This will be the third copper plate of Para-mēśvaravarmaṇ I.

Text[10]

FIRST PLATE

[Verses 1-3 *Anushṭubh*]

1 Svasti[।*] Jitaṁ Bhagavatā lōkatraya[ṁ*]-Mahāvishṇunā[11][।*] Śrīmatē(t)-Vijaya-Kāñchī-

2 pur-ādhishṭhānāta(t) parama-brahmaṇyasya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjjit-ōrjjita kshatra-

3 tapōnidhaiḥ (dhēḥ) vidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryādasya sthiti-sthitasya

4 mahārājasya-śrī-Mahēndravarmmaṇah prapautrō='bhyarchita[12]-śakti-siddhi-

5 sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya vasudhā-tal=aika-vīrasya

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

6 Narasiṁha-samāna-parākramasya mahārājasya śrī-Narasiṁha-varmmaṇaḥ pautrō nija-

7 bhuja-vijay-ōdayēn=aiva samadhigata-samasta-rāja-maṇḍalasya kaliyuga-dōsh-āvasa-

8 nnadhō(nna)-dharmm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha(dha)sya lōkapālasya śrīmad=U-

9 [pēndra]-tulyasya mahārājasya śrī-Mahēndravikrama-varmmaṇaḥ putrō bhagavad-bhakti-sambhā-

10 [vi]ta-sarvva-kalyāṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ parama-mā-

11 hēśvarō Bhāradvājasagōtraḥ sva-vikram-ākrānt-ānya-nṛipa-śrīnilayānā[ṁ*] yathāvad-āhṛi-

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

12 t-ānēk-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha(ta)-snānēn=aiva parama-pavitrīkṛitānāṁ Pallavānā[ṁ] vallabhō ma-

13 hārāja-śrī-Paramēśvaravarmmā Kshīra-nadyā[ḥ*] uttara-taṭē Bhūmi-rāshṭrē[13]Chuvvi-ūru-nāma-grāmē-

14 yakān=ēvam=ājñāpayatiḥ(ti) [॥*] tad=yathā[।*] tasa(sy)=aiva grāmasya pūrvvasyān=diśi Chēkōḍu-

15 [mu]ḍu-taṭākasya Plāmuḍudu taṭākasya kṛishṇa-śilā-nichayasya cha dakshiṇataḥ Chu-

16 vvi-ūru-nāma-grāmasya Vēṇūru-nāma-grāmasya cha sīmān=tasya paśchimataḥ tasmāt=Kāra-

17 ñchēḍu-taṭākasya Chuvvi-ūru-nāma-grāmāta(t) Pulikallu-nāma-grāma-gāminō mahā-

THIRD PLATE, FIRST SIDE

18 pathasya cha uttarataḥ tasmā[d*] Chēdōḍu-Bhōjahala-kshētrasya Gōni-taṭākasya cha

19 pūrvvataḥ ētar=chchhatur=avadhi-paryyantaṁ su-kshētraṁ Ṛāpaṛudaṇḍēna rāj-ōtta-

20 ra-mānēna ashṭōttara-śata-nivarttana-parimāṇam shaṭ-karma-niratāya

21 vēda-vēdāṅga-vidē svayampākāya brahmachāriṇē asmad=āyur=bbala-

22 [vija]y=ābhivṛiddhayē brahmadēyaṁ kṛitvā sarvva-kara-parihār-ōpētaṁ[ni]-

23 gūḍraṁ(nirvyūḍhaṁ) kṛitvāṁ(tvā) udṛitya(uddhṛitya) sarvv-ōpāyaiś=cha dattam=iti ētad=avaga-

THIRD PLATE, SECOND SIDE

24 gamya rāja-vallabha-naiyōgika-sañcharantakō(k=ā)dāyas=sarvva-parihāraiḥ pariha-

25 rantu[।*] parihārayantu cha[।*] yō='smach=chhāsanam=atikramēt sa pāpaś=śārīra-

26 [da]ṇḍam=arhati[।*] Api ch=ātr=ārshāḥ ślōkāḥ[।*] Bhūmi-dānāt paraṁ

27 dānaṁ na bhūtan=na bhavishyati[।*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpaṁ na bhū aṁ

28 na bhavishyati[॥1*॥] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā[।*] ya-

FOURTH PLATE, FIRST SIDE

29 sya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam[॥2*॥] sva-dattāṁ para-

30 dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ[।*] gavāṁ-śata-sahasrasya

31 hantuḥ piñcha(piba)ti kilvisham [॥3*॥] Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁ-

32 vatsarē navamē Budha-divasē Kārttika-Paurṇamāsyāṁ asy=ā-

FOURTH PLATE, SECOND SIDE

33 jñaptiḥ[।*] diśi diśi vaśit=ārāti-paksha-pratāpī Sōmādity=ā

34 bhidhāna-śrī-Nandakuṟṟa-rājaḥ Kūḷavarmmā udita[ḥ*] Sōmā-

35 ditya[ḥ*] Pallava-kula-gagana-nirmmalē nityē sapadi[gu

36 hāmu[balinārishu][16] nṛipati-dhvānta-saṁtṛiptāḥ Tyāgi Pa-

FIFTH PLATE

37 llava-saṁbhūtiḥ Nandakuṟṟa-nṛipēśvaraḥ ājñaptiḥ Kūḷavarmm=āsya

38 śāsanasya mahāyaśāḥ [॥*] vijaya-mānyēna Māḷava-kshatriyē-

39 ṇa Lōkābhirāma-nāmnā likhitaṁ śāsanam=iti[॥*]Svasty=astu gō-

40 brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ[।*] Maryyāda-Suvarṇṇakārasya pautraḥ Bhīmēnaś=ch=ōtkhātam[।*]

Notes :

1 The first one or two letters of the lines are often found partially or fully hidden.

2 C.f. the Chēndalūr grant of Kumāravishṇu II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 233) ; Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman (ibid., Vol. III, p. 142) ; Ōmgōḍu grant of Skandavarman II (ibid., Vol. XV, p. 246) ; Uruvapalli grant of Vishṇugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50). Ōmgōḍu, Pikira, Maṅgalūr and Vilavaṭṭi grants of Simhavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV ; p. 246 ; Vol VIII, p. 159 ff ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 154 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 301) etc.

3 The lines engraved on the second side of the fifth plate, probably contains the omitted portion. However, not even a single letter of these lines could be deciphered.

4 Only two of these verses occur in the Vunnaguravayapālem plate.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 95 ff.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 199-200; *Cheṅgam Naḍu Kaṯkaḷ*, 1971, No. 782; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 91 ff; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 144 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 8-12.

10 From the photographs and the original copper plates.

11 In the Vunnaguravayapālem plates, Rēyūru and other grants, only the invocatory words *Jitaṁ bhagavatā* are found.

12 *Sandhi* is observed here.

13 In the Vunnaguravayapālem plates Pūmi-rāshṭra is mentioned. Possibly Pūmi-rāshṭra of the Vunnaguravayapālem plates and Bhūmi-rāshṭra of the present plate appear to be one and the same.

14 There is *i* sign over *ē*, which is probably a scribal error.

15 There is a *hamsapāda* mark above the letter *ṇē* in line 21.

16 The exact meaning of this word is uncertain.

13 A SALANKAYANA RECORD FROM KAUSAMBI IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

S. P. Tewari

This important inscription brought to the notice of scholars for the first time was discovered by some unkrown dealer from the vast area of Kauśāmbi and supplied to the museum (then known as the Municipal Museum, Allahabad) roughly a decade back. Since then, it has been lying in the store of the museum in between so many other items. The stone bearing this record was being used by the stone-clerk as a stool for keeping water jug. While casually taking water from the mug for drinking, I stumbled upon this unique inscription. I am thankful to the authorities of Allahabad Museum Society and its chairman Prof. C. C. Pandey for kindly permitting me to edit this record.

This is the only record of the Sālaṅkāyanas found outside Andhra Pradesh and on the basis of its palaeography, seems to be earlier than the other known grants[1] and lithic records of the Sālaṅkāyanas.

The inscription under reference is engraved on the smooth surface of a stone (peculiar to the site of Kauśāmbi) carved in a circular form. It measures from one end to the other end about 56 cm × 54 cm. The reverse side of the stone (measuring 57.5 cm × 54 cm) has got a hole (12 × 12 cm) which is rectangular in shape. The presence of this hole tempts one to think that the stone of our record would have formed part a pillar related to some structure of antiquity.

The two lines of writing of the record referring to one and the same text are also circular in shape and the circle made by these two lines is so accurate that it looks like an ornamental design in itself. Long like *ka* and *pā* of the first line measure 5 and 6 cm. and that of the second line measure 6 and 7 cm. respectively. The deep engraving of the record is executed nicely and the inscription is in a good state of preservation offering practically no difficulty in the decipherment of its text.

As regards the palaeography of the letters it looks identical with the early 2nd century record of the Kushāṇas. In any case,[2] it can be called as a pre-Gupta record of this area. The language of the text of this record is Prakrit which was popular in those days. Only word which has been retained in its Sanskrit form in both the lines of the text is *kulakaṁ*. Regarding orthography of the text whereas no comments are needed for the whole of the text, it can be stated that only *anusvāra* is applied in spelling out the word *kulakaṁ* (at the end of the record in both the lines) which got substituted by final *m* at a latter date.

Although the contents of the record appear to be simple at the first instance, ambiguity in case of words like *Payevila* (or Payevila) and *Samayikaya* (or Samayikaya) is such that it needs an excercise of interpretation. But keeping these ambiguous terms apart for treatment later, it can be stated that the inscription refers to the *kulaka* of Bhūtila, the *amātya* of Sālaṅkāyana, his son Payevila (?) and his son's wife Samayikā. Whether it was used simply as a label to the family house (*kulaka*) of a minister of Sālaṅkāyanas living with his son and daughter-in-law or it has some other purpose to serve, is not made clear by the text of the record.

Before coming to elucidate other points of the record and the terms which need explanations, it would be proper first to place the reading of the record for the readers themselves.

Text[3]

Line 1 Amachasa Śālakāyanasa Bhūtilasa putasa bhayāyē Payēvila Samayi—kāyē hidaya piyāyē kulakaṁ.

Line 2 Amachasa Śālakāyanasa Bhūtilasa putasa bhayāyē Payāvila Samiyikāyē hidaya piyāyē kulakaṁ

This text could be rendered tentatively into Sanskrit as follows :

Amātyasya Śālaṅkāyanasya Bhūtilasya putra bhāryyāya(ś=cha) Payāvila Samayikāyā(ś=cha) hṛidaya-priyāyāḥ (yāś=cha) kulakaṁ.

Allowing the signifince of the early reference to Sālaṅkāyanas and the relevent meaninng of the term *kulakaṁ* to rest for a while, we can render the text loosely into English as under :

'[This is] the *kulaka* of Samayikā, the beloved wife of Payāvila, the son of Bhūtila, the minister of Sālaṅkāyanas'. OR 'This is the *kulaka* of Bhūtila, the minister of Sālaṅkāyanas, his son Payāvila and his son's wife and beloved Samayikā'. OR, 'This *kulaka* [belongs to] Payāvila Samayikā, the dear daughter-in-law of Bhūtila, the minister of Sālaṅkāyana.

After considering all the pros and cons of the text at this moment, I find the first rendering of the text more preferable than the latter ones. Incase of the first rendering, the find spot of the inscription i.e., Kauśāmbi, may not necessarily be construed as being under the administrative jurisdiction of a Sālaṅkāyana minister called Bhūtila. It may be simply the place (or parentś place) of his daughter in-law, the beloved wife of his son Payāvila. Thus, the possibility of Sālaṅkāyanas being counted as any political power in the area of Kauśāmbi at the time of this record gets ruled out. The only relationship to Sālaṅkāyanas in this case remains in the sense that his daughter-in-law belonged to this place.

While accepting the second rendering of the text, it will open the possibility

of a Sālaṅkāyana minister being present in the area of Kauśāmbi with his son Payāvila and the daughter-in-law Samayikā. Whereas, incase of accepting the third rendering of the text, it will no doubt be idential with the first one except the fact that here we do not take Payāvila as the possible name of the son of Bhūtila but as a prefix to the name of his daughter-in-law Samayikā,

My reasoning for going in favour of the possibility proposed by the first rendering of the record in comparison to that of the other two may be placed here as under :

i) The adjective *hidaya piyāyē* placed before the object *kulakaṁ* suits better in case of all the three (i.e., Bhūtila the minister, Payāvila, his son and Samayikā, his daughter - in - law). In other words, she is the subject to whom the adjective *hidaya-piya* qualifies and who owns the object (i.e., *kulaka*) directly in this case. The other two persons (i.e., Bhūtila and Payāvila) find place in the record for the fact, that the former is the father of the lady's husband who also happens to be an important person in the sense that he was the minister of Sālaṅkāyanas. It gives a kind of the status to the *kulaka* of Samayikā. The latter is mentioned in the record by virtue of his being the husband of the said lady whose beloved wife she was.

ii) This being a solitary instance wherein Sālaṅkāyanas are mentioned not only from the area of Kauśāmbi but practically from whole of North India for the first time, in absence of more solid evidence to this effect, it will be rather premature to conclude in favour of a Sālaṅkāyana hegemony over the regions of Kauśāmbi in those days. The fact Sālaṅkāyanas get mention in the Geography of Ptolemy and according to some, even in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patanjali[4] does not suffice in any way to establish their rule in the areas of North India. But the fact that they were the people who were widely known around the beginning of the Christian era, does not militate much against their having relations in the north especially at big business centres like Kauśāmbi and others.

iii) On the analogy of the *la* ending name of Bhūtila, it may be a reasonable supposition to think of Payāvila (specially after considering the loose state of syntax in the composition of the text) as the son of Bhūtila who establishes an unavoidedly needed link between him and his daughter-in-law. Besides, both as an adjective or as a prefix, the term *payāvila* placed before the name of Samayikā conveys practically nothing tangible and appears to be a meaningless (useless) word from the text. In this case, it makes better sense, if we take it as the name of the son of Bhūtila and the husband of the lady called Samayikā.

The three-fold meanings of the word *kulaka*[5] and *kulakam* are defined in the famous lexicon of Amarasimha as that of i) a kind of ebony ii) a name of a medicinal plant and as iii) a chief of a guild.[6] The only meaning of the term *kulakam* out of all the three which suits our context is that of a chief of a guild but as we shall see in the sequel even that meaning is merely a tolerable one to some extent.

Having accepted once, on the authority of the commentators of *Amara* that *kulaka* is the same as *kulika*,[7] we come in touch with good number of references to this term from the field of inscribed seals and sealings, and a couple of other epigraphical references as well.[8] From the context here in our record (cf. *samayikāyē hidaya piyāyē kulakaṁ*) it seems quite probable that the term *kulakaṁ* refers to the house of the chief of a guild of artisans. May be this is the reason that the word has been used differently than *kulaka* and *kulika*, in its neutral form as *kulakam*.

Thus the present record establishes a link between the chief of a guild of artisans from the area of Kauśāmbi and the miniter of Sālaṅkāyanas called Bhūtila through a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the former and the son of the latter.

Notes :-

1 *Dynastic List of the Copper plate inscriptions copied in the office of the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore.* Ed. Gai, G.S.

2 Ramesh, K.V. *Indian Epigraphy*, I, New Delhi, 1984, p. 62.

3 Prepared with the help of original record, an inadequate estampage and photograph.

4 I thankfully acknowledge the information about the reference to Sālaṅkāyanas in the Geography of Ptolemy, I received from Prof. B. N. Mukherjee in the course of my consultations with him. The source of *Mahābhāshya* remains to be checked still.

5 Attention is drawn to the fact that the text of the inscription is incised twice on the stone without any difference in the text or contents of the record. Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) believes that the term *'Kulaka'* can just mean the link or connection between the two lines. I am unable to accept Dr. I. K. Sarma's view of the migration of Sālaṅkāyanas from the border of the North-West frontier of Indian continent. His hypothesis is based on the facial resemblance of a solitary image to that of some Indo-Greek types, rests on insufficient evidence.

6 *Amarakōśa* ed. Ramanathan, A.A., Madras, 1971, Vol. I, 2.4.39, 155 and II. 10.5 Herein (at the end of the last reference) the gloss of Lingayasurin explains the term *kulakah* as *kulam karoti śrēshṭhatvēna-iti kulakaḥ kulika iti vā pathaḥ.* i.e., *kulaka* is the appellation of a progenitor of a family who does it out of his praise-worthy deeds. A variant of reading is also known as *kulika*. The point worthy of note here is that the term *kulakam* of the record has been used in its neutral gender in which case, as per Amara, it renders the sense of a medicinal plant, which has no relevance whatsoever to our record. In all probability, there was a laxity in case of the use of gender at the time the text of our record was composed (specially in case of Prakrit records) and these distinctions on the basis of gender were made at a later date.

7 Ibid. see also the gloss. of Bhanuji Dikshit on *Amara* for similar views.

8 Thapalyal, K.K. *Studies in Ancient Indian seals*, Lucknow, 1972, pp. 231 ff., and the references cited therein.

14 CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF MEDIEVAL ASSAM

Sarharuddin Ahmed

Assam, one of the north-eastern states of the Indian Union, lies between the latitudes 24°10'N and 27°57'N and the longitudes 89°50'E and 96°2'E. It comprises an area of 78,529 sq.km. To the north of Assam lie the territories of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur. On the south and south-west it is bounded by Mizoram, Tripura, Bangladesh and Meghalaya. To the west there lie Bangladesh and West Bengal.

Assam was known by different names in different periods. In very early times, it was called Prāgjyōtisha[1]. The kingdom of Prāgjyōtisha came to be known as Kāmarūpa in subsequent days. The point of time from when Kāmarūpa came to be called so is not precisely known, Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 81-84) gives Kāmarūpa as the last country to be subdued by Raghu in his northern expedition. This reference does not help in fixing the date from when Kāmarūpa became the kingdom. Among the earliest epigraphic records the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 360 A.D.) mentions Kāmarūpa as one of the frontier kingdoms along with Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Nēpāla and Kartṛipura. On the basis of this inscriptional reference, it is clear that the kingdom of Prāgjyōtisha came to be known as Kāmarūpa as early as the middle of the 4th century A.D. if not earlier.

The history of ancient Assam or more appropriately early Assam came to an end with the end of the rule of the Brahmapāla dynasty in the 12th century A.D. The history of medieval Assam begins with the Kānāi Baraśī Bovā rock inscription which is dated Śaka 1127 (*Śāka turga-yugm-ēśē*) and ended with the advent of the British in the early part of the 19th century A.D.

A large number of inscriptions of the period have so far been come to light. The inscriptions may broadly be divided into two groups namely—(1) the inscriptions issued by the Koch rulers and (2) the inscriptions issued by the Āhom kings and their high officials[2]. There are also some more inscriptions either bearing the names of the kings or without, which we grouped miscellaneous[3].

The inscriptions issued by the Koch kings covered the period from Śāka 1487 to Śaka 1605. Three inscriptions of the Koch kings have so far been come to light[4]. The Āhom inscriptions covered the period from Śaka 1538 to Śaka 1750. They number more than 200 inscriptions[5]. The third group of inscriptions found in different places belong to various periods[6].

Majority of the inscriptions of the period are land grant charters offered to the brāhmaṇa donees for the maintenance or establishment of religious institutions.

There is also a record of offering land grant to *dargāh* or *mokām*[7]. There are some epigraphs which record constructions of temples[8] and excavations of tanks[9], while, some commemorate victory of the kings in the battles[10]. There is also some epigraphs containing land transactions[11]. Inscriptions on cannons generally record either acquisition of a particular weapon or obtaining them from enemies[12].

The inscriptions of the Koch kings and the miscellaneous inscriptions are written in Sanskrit. The inscriptions issued by the Āhom kings and their officials are written in several languages. Some of these inscriptions are in Sanskrit, some are in Assamese and some are in Āhom. Some are inscribed partly in Sanskrit and partly in Assamese[13] while some are in Āhom in addition to Sanskrit and Assamese[14]. The introductory parts of the bilingual or trilingual inscriptions are written in Sanskrit while the Assamese and the Āhom texts deal with the operative parts. Sanskrit and Assamese portions are written in Assamese script while the Āhom texts are given in Āhom script. In some of the plates written in Sanskrit and Assamese which bear Āhom on the other side make a reference to the existence of Āhom language inscriptions as follows: asyārthō aśamāksharā (Copper Plate Inscription of Rudrasiṁha, Jayasāgar Kēśava-rāi Vishṇu temple, Śaka 1622[15].) ētad arthavijñāpakam āchāmāksharēṇa parapṛishṭhe (Copper Plate Inscription of the Jāyār Sattra, Barpeta, Śaka 1686[15]) āsāmāksharaṁ aparapṛishṭhē (Copper Plate Inscription of the appointment of Katakis (Messengers) at Gauhati, Śaka 1714[15].

The Sanskrit inscriptions or the Śanskrit portions of the inscriptions are mostly written in prose, some are in verse and very few are in both prose and verse. They are more or less, similar in pattern. Certain common expressions and poetical conventions were handed down by the composers of these inscriptions[16]. The Sanskrit passages of these inscriptions are composed in accordance with the traditional norms of prosody and rhetoric. Metres like *Anushṭubh*, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Vasantatilakā* are generally used. The composers of these epigraphs show their best literary talent in the use of *alaṁāras*. In certain passages both *Śabdālaṁkāras* and *Arthālaṁkāras* are used with equal interest while in certain others more stress is given on *Śabdālaṁkāras*. Of the *Śabdālaṁkāras* – *Anuprāsa* is more frequently employed and of the *Arthālaṁkāras*, *Upamā* happens to be most widely adored. The similarity of the language, style and the modes of expressions prove that some of the composers of the inscriptions were original writers while the rest were imitators.

In the epigraphs of the period the particular religious faith of the donor king may be gathered from the way of praising the deity in eulogistic phraseology.[17] A tendency for syncretism with regard to Śiva, Śākta and Vaishṇava cults may also be noticed here and there. For instance in the Copper Plate Inscription of land grant towards daily worship at Śukrēśvara temple of Śaka 1683, the donor king Rājēśvarasiṁha is shown as the worshipper of lord Mahēśvara while his minister in charge is said to be the worshipper

of Lord Kṛishṇa. This indicates the catholicity of approach in the process of assimilation.

Unlike the inscriptions of ancient Assam of which majority are undated, the inscriptions of medieval Assam are mostly dated. The Sanskrit inscriptions or the Sanskrit portions of the inscriptions are dated in Śaka era. The dates in these texts are given both by symbolic names of objects and figures. The Assamese inscriptions or the Assamese texts of the inscriptions are also dated in Śaka era. The texts in Āhom are dated in *lakni*.[18]

The Sanskrit inscriptions or the Sanskrit portions of the inscriptions are important for studying the religion, culture and position of Sanskrit studies in Assam in those days. The Assamese inscriptions throw light on the subjects like political administration, revenue system, taxation etc, They are also important in studying the various forms of Assamese alphabets. The Āhom inscriptions are important from several aspects like historical, religious, cultural, literary and linguistic etc. Arabic inscriptions although very few in number possess historic, literary and linguistic value.

Notes :

1 The boundary of Assam varied from time to time. On the basis of the *Mahābhārata's* (Sabhāparvan ch. 26, V. 9) reference to Prāgjyōtisha, it is conjectured that Prāgjyōtisha was more extensive kingdom than the present day Assam. For details see P.N. Bhattacharyya's *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Bhūmikā, p. 2.

2 The majority of the inscriptions of the period were issued by the Āhom kings and their high officials.

3 The rock Inscription of Gaṇēśvarapushkariṇī of Śaka 1499 records the excavation of a pond by one Hedamba king Dununtrarāi. But the king remains unidentified from any other source. Kānāi Baraśī Bovā Rock Inscription of Śaka 1127 and Chandrabhārati's Rock Incription (?) do not mention any royal house. There is also one inscription in Arabic found at village Boko in Kāmarūpa district now preserved in the Assam State Museum bearing the name of Ghiyatau'd-Dīn Azam Shah, the third ruler of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal. Vide "*Epigraphia India, Arabic and Persian suppliment*, 1955-56", pp. 33-34 ; There are also two more inscriptions in Arabic, one is preserved in the Assam State Museum and the another is discovered at Sibsagar district which have not yet been published.

4 The rock Inscription of the Nīlāchala Kāmākhyā Temple, of Śaka 1487, the rock Inscription of Pāṇḍunātha Hari temple of Śaka 1507 and the rock inscription of Hayagrīva Mādhava temple of Śaka 1605.

5 There are some inscriptions issued by the Āhom kings which have not yet been published.

6 Kānāi Baraśī Bovā rock Inscription and the rock Inscription of Gaṇēśvarapushkariṇī bear the dates Śaka 1127 and 1499 Śaka respectively. Chandrabhārati's rock Inscription is not dated while the Nīlāchala CP Grant of Mādhavadēva, king of Kāmarūpa mentions *'saṁ 25 āśvina 3, dinē.*

7 Āhom king Lakshmīsiṁha (1769-1780 A.D.) offered land grant to a Muslim saint called, Anvar Faquir in Banbhag Pargaṇā in Śaka 1702. Vide *Prāchya-Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 68-69.

8 For example the rock Inscription of Nīlāchala Kāmākhyā Temple of Śaka 1487 states that the temple was constructed by Śrī Śukladhvaja at the instruction of king Naranārāyaṇa.

9 The rock Inscription of Navagraha Pushkariṇī, Gauhati, of Śaka 1675 states that a tank was dug by the minister Śrī Taruṇa Duvarā at the instruction of king Rājēsvarasiṁha. For details see also *Prāchya-Śāsanāvalī*, Bhūmikā, p. 59.

10 The rock Inscription on the Chāmdharā rampart of Śaka 1538, The rock Inscription of the Southern gateway of the Gauhati city of Śaka 1655 and some of the cannon inscriptions state the victory of the kings in the battles.

11 One stone inscription dated Śaka 17 . . . . states the sale and purchase of land, see *Prāchya-Śāsanāvalī*, Bhūmikā.

12 For details see *Prāchya-Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 107–111.

13 There are plenty of examples to show that in the inscriptions of different parts of India, local languages were also used in addition to Sanskrit. See D. C. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphy* (first edn.) pp. 39–60. This practice is not only found in India but even in the inscriptions of Kambuja or modern Kampuchea. I have discussed the similiarities in my paper '*Some Observations on the Inscriptions of Kambuja*', *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XXVII, 1983. A parallel to this tradition is noticed in the Balinese inscriptions also. In support of our view, the following two examples are quoted :

"The sources of our knowledge about Śrī Kesari Varmadēva are the well-known double inscription (in Sanskrit and Old Balinese) of the stone pillar at Belchand-jong (Blandjong) near Sanur and a second inscription . . . ." (p.9)

"Another interesting feature about the Sanur inscription is that A-side contains a Sanskrit and an *Old Balinese* inscription in Siddham characters, while the B-side contains a third text again in Sanskrit but with Old Javanese characters . . . ." (p. 10) Vide R. Gori's *Ancient History of Bali*, Faculty of Letters, University Udayana, 1962, p. 65.

14 A parallel to this method of writing in three languages is found in some of the inscriptions of Gujrat also. Records like the Sathod (Baroda District) inscription of 1369 A. D., trillingual being written in Persian, Gujrāti and Sanskrit. Vide D. C. Sircar's *Ind. Ep.*, p. 57.

15 In the expressions, the terms *aśamākshara*, *achāmakshara* and *āsāmākshara* do not mean the Assamese script but they mean the Āhom script. I have endeavoured to throw some light on the subject in my paper, "*The Significance of the Word Āsāma in the Inscriptions of Medieval Assam*" read in the Tenth Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, Aurangabad, March, 1984.

16 Some of the common terms for describing the valour of the kings as-*vairi-vāraṇa-dāraṇa-pañchānana-pratāpa-tapana* etc. There is a general tendency of the poet composers to use such expressions as-*nissīma-bhīma-vikrama-gāmbhīryy-ōdāryya–maryyād-ādi-guṇa-gaṇa-garimā* to imply an idea that the donor king or his deputy as the case may be possesses innumerabje qualities.

17 In the beginning of certain inscriptions without any reference to the donor kings, invocation is made to a particular deity. These are presumably the deities of the composers invoked in the beginning for successful completion of the composition, cf. *namaḥ śrīgaṇēśāya* in the rock inscription of the Kāmatēśvari temple, Kāmatāpur, Saka 1587.

18 Lākni is an Āhom word which means 'year'. It is a lunar year of 355 days. Its first use in the epigraphs of Assam is found in the Sadia Pillar Inscription of 1523 A. D. now preserved in the Assam State Museum.

15 KOLHAPUR COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF SILAHARA VIJAYADITYA MENTIONING POET PAMPA

Madhav N. Katti

In the year 1983 we received a message that a copper-plate charter had been discovered along with a few remnants of a Jain temple and some objects of worship, while digging foundation for a drama theatre within the municipal limits of Kolhapur, Karvir Taluk, Kolhapur District, Maharashtra. The place is wellknown as the abode of Mahālakshmi. When we addressed the Municipal Commissioner of the place, he was kind enough to permit us to examine the copper plates and I was deputed by the Director (Epigraphy) for the purpose[1]. When I visited Kolhapur, I thoroughly examined the site and the other objects discovered along with the copper plates in the premises of the same[2]. It was very heartening to know that the copper plate charter was engraved during the reign of Silāhāra Vijayāditya, son of Gaṇḍarāditya and was dated Śaka 1077, Bhāva, Pushya Puṇṇame (i.e. Pūrṇimā) Tuesday, when the lunar eclipse also occurred. I discovered that the charter, was of great importance to the students of Kannaḍa literature, as it contained the name of *sat-kavīndrōttama* Paṁparāja. As the copper plates bore some encrustation, a few lines here and there were not clear. I brought the charter to Mysore and returned the same to the Municipal Commissioner of Kolhapur, after taking the estampages.

I am editing the charter for the first time in the pages of this journal. The set contains three copper plates strung together on a copper ring, the ends of which are soldered to the back of a square seal, bearing the figure of Garuḍa in relief. While the first and the last plates are engraved on one side only, the second plate is engraved on both the sides. However, the second side of the third plate bears the figures of a standing cow facing left, with the figure of a dagger in front, sun and crescent above (incised like a linear drawing). Each plate measures approximately 31.7 cm in length and 19.5 cm in breadth. The average thickness of the plate is 0.4 cm. The diameter of the ring and each side of the seal are, respectively, 9.8 cm. and 7 cm. The weight of the three plates is 3.33 Kg. and that of the ring and seal together is 1.17 Kg. The total weight of the three plates along with the ring and seal is 4.5 Kg.

The copper plate charter is in Kannaḍa language and characters of the 12th century A.D. The palaeographical and orthographical features of the inscription are regular for the period and do not call for any special remarks. The text of the inscription, except for the invocatory and imprecatory verses, which are in Sanskrit, is in Kannaḍa language, where both prose and poetry are interspersed freely.

The inscription commences with the praise of Lord Jina. (lines 1 and 2). After that the genealogy of the dynasty is given. The record states that in the Khēchara-vaṁśa and Silāhār-ānvya, a number of kings ruled and after that Jatiga-bhūpāḷa protected the kingdom. His son was Goṅkala and the latter's brother was Gūvalāṅka. Goṅkala's son was Mārasiṅga-nṛipāḷa. His elder son was Gūvalāṅka and the latter's younger brother was Bhōja-nṛipa (lines 2 to 10). Then various achievements of these kings in the usual hyperbolic fashion are referred to. The historically important portion contains the evidence that Bhōja defeated Śāntara-bhūpa. He was a fierce-fighter whom the enemies could not counter. He ruled over the Sapta-Koṅkaṇas which were bordered by the sea, to the great admiration of the kings of Kēraḷa Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Kaliṅga, Turuska, Varāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāśmira and Surāshṭra (i.e. Saurāshṭra) and this brought fame to the Silāhāra family. His younger brother was Gaṇḍarāditya, who is described as the incarnation of *dharma* (righteousness) and the abode of *Śrī* (glory and victory). He is also addressed as Yudhishṭhira in speaking truth (*Satya-Yudhishṭhira*). His son Vijayāditya is then described as the Sun to the lotuses in the form of other kings and also as *bhuvanaika-bhuṁbhuka* (lines 10 to 23). Amongst the other epithets ascribed to him the following are noteworthy :—

Jīmūta-vāhan-ānvaya-prasūta, makara-dhvaja,

suvarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja, ripu-maṇḍaḷika-Bhairava, vipaksha-maṇḍaḷika-karaṭi-ghaṭā-

saṅghaṭṭa, vairi-gharaṭṭa, śrī-Gaṇḍarāditya dēvana siṅga, samasta śāstrōdirṇ-ārṇava-

pārōyaṇa, śakti-trayātiśaya-saṁpanna, Śanivāra-

siddhi, Vījayalakshmī-vinōda-prāsāda, Mahālakshmīdēvī-labdha-varaprasāda etc. (lines 23 to 34)

The record then states that Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara Vijayādityadēva was ruling from his capital Vaḷavāḍa. His feudatory was Kappadēva, the son of Kūchirāja. It is stated that Kūchirāja had Jinanātha (Lord Jina) as *ishṭa-daiva* and Gaṇḍarāditya as his over Lord. The charter further informs that kavi-Paṁparāja described as *iḷā-viśruta-kīrti-vallarī-vitāna* and *sat-kavīndrōttama* was the grand father of Kūchirāja and thus Kūchirāja was unparalleled in the world (lines 37-39). Kūchirāja is also mentioned as the Pratihāra and Sandhivigrahi of Gaṇḍarāditya-bhūpati. Kappadēva, the son of Kūchirāja is then described as the moon to the ocean of Jina-samaya, as an expert follower of righteous path, as the abode of truth, as the one praised by the great scholars, as of a spotless character and a devout feudatory of Vijayāditya. He is also mentioned as *priya-mantri, Mahāmātya, Pratihāra* and *Sandhivigrahi* of king Vijayāditya. He is referred to as Kappaṇayya and Kappadēva in the inscription (lines 34 to 43).

It is stated that on the request of Kappaṇayya, king Vijayāditya reconfirmed the grant to the *basadi* of Śāntinātha, caused to be constructed by Kappaṇayya's father Kūchīrājayya who had made the original grant to the basadi, at Kollāpura.

The grant consisting of land and house-site was made on account of the Lunar eclipse which occured on Śaka 1077, Bhāva-saṁvatsara Pushya Puṇṇame (Pūrṇimā), Maṅgalavāra which also is the date of the grant. The details of date regularly correspond to 1154 A. D., December 21, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. The grant was made after laving the feet of Vardhamāna-bhaṭṭārakadēva for the purpose of the *ashṭa - vidhārchane*, *khaṇḍa - sphuṭita-jīrṇō-ddhāra* and for the feeding of the ascetics-dwelling therein *(allirpa ṛishīyar=āhāra-dānakkāṁ)*. It is stated that the donated land was situated within the *närggāvuṇḍike* of Sirguppe directly under their administration. The ricepient of the grant was Vardhamāna - bhaṭṭārakadēva himself. He was the disciple of Kukkuṭāsana - Maladhāri, referred to also as *munigaṇāgragaṇya*, belonging to Śrimūla-Saṅgha, Koṇḍakund-ānvaya, Dēsiya - gaṇa and Pustaka - gachchha (lines 43 to 58). After this we come across the imprecatory portion of the text (lines 58 to 65).

From the information furnished by the inscription, it is clear that Vijayāditya who is stated to be ruling from Vaḷavāḍa is evidently of the family of the Silāhāras of Kolhāpur.[3] His forefathers Jatiga, Goṅkala Gūvalāṅka (I) Mārasiṁha, Gūvalāṅka (II), Bhōja and Gaṇḍarāditya are already known to us through a number of inscriptions.[4] Vijayāditya is also known to have ruled upto Śaka 1153[5] and this charter extends his reign by about two years.

It is of great historical significance especially to the students of Kannaḍa literature that for the first time this copper plate charter brings to light the personages Kūchirāja *alias* Kūchirājayya and his son Kappadēva *alias* Kappaṇayya who served respectively, Gaṇḍarāditya and Vijayāditya. Kūchirāja is also mentioned as the grandson of *sat-kavīndrōttama* Paṁparāja who was a very famous poet. His description as the best amongst the poets of standing *(sat-kavīndrōttama)* and as a person whose fame had spread throughout the world (literally the creeper of whose fame had extended, throughout the world-*iḷā-viśruta-kīrtti-vallarī - vitāna)* is worth noticing here. He is mentioned as the *ajja* (grandfather) of Kūchirāja, On the date of the record either Kūchirāja was very old or may not have been alive as his son Kappaṇayya was the Chief Minister of king Vijayāditya. Poet Paṁpa, therefore, must have lived about a century earlier as he belonged to the 3rd generation of Kappaṇayya's predecessors. In the entire Kannaḍa literature we come across two famous poets by name Paṁpa, one was *ādikavi* Paṁpa, the first poet-laureate of Kannaḍa literature, the author of *Ādipurāṇa* and *Vikramārjunavijaya* (i.e. *Paṁpa Bhārata*),[6] who lived during the 10th century and the other Nāgachandra who is famous as '*Abhinava-Paṁpa*', known to be the author of *Mallinātha Purāṇa* and *Paṁparāmāyaṇa*[7] and to have lived between the later half of the 11th century and the middle of 12th century A.D.[8] In my article published in the *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike* (vol. 69 Part. II.),[9] I have stated that there are three possibilities of identifying this Poet Paṁpa mentioned in the Kolhapur copper plate charter.

1. He could be identified with *ādikavi* Paṁpa, as the inscription refers to him (i.e. Paṁparāja) as *sat-kavīndrōttama Paṁparāja.*

2. The poet referred to here may be '*Abhinava Paṁpa*' i.e. Nāgachandra.

3. He could be any other poet Paṁpa not known to us so far, since the parentage of the poet is not given and further research alone could provide a decisive answer to it.

The above opinions were given by me only to highlight various possibilities for identification of poet Paṁpa of the Kolhapur charter. I would like to give my personal opinion as follows :

Amongst the suggestions given by me in my above article, for identifying poet Paṁpa, the third possibility, of any other poet so far not known to us, was suggested more to exhaust the types of conclusions we could arrive at and hence I do not want to discuss about this here in detail. The other two possibilities merit a detailed consideration. *Satkavīndrōttama Paṁpa* of our charter described as *ilā-viśruta-kīrtti-vallarī-vitāna* was undoubtedly a very great poet. As he is mentioned as the *ajja* (grand father) of Kūchirāja, he belonged to the second generation amongst the predecessors of Kūchirāja. The facts that *ādikavi* Paṁpa also was addressed as *satkavi*[10] and that he lived in the Banavāsi area[11] for some time do hint at the possibility that our Paṁparāja might be *ādikavi* Paṁpa himself. But *ādikavi* Paṁpa lived during the middle of the 10th century A.D., whereas our record is dated 1154 A.D. In case, we identify our Paṁpa i.e. Kūchirāja's grand father, with the *ādikavi*, we have to assume either that both his son and grand son were born at a very old age to their parents, or that *ajja* is referred to only in the sense of an elderly predecessor of the family in which case Paṁparāja of the Kolhapur plates, we have to take, is referred to as *ajja* of Kūchirāja in that sense (Of 'course in Kannaḍa, *ajja* means grand father only). The poet, in our charter, is also referred to as Paṁpa and not *abhinava* Paṁpa. These expressions hint at the very remote possibility that Paṁpa of the Kolhapur charter could be *ādikavi* Paṁpa himself. Hower, the date of our record, which is later by about two hundred years than the date of the *ādikavi*, makes this identification less possible, in the present state of our knowledge, when no particulars about the successors of *ādikavi* Paṁpa are available. Therefore, this identification has to be set aside in the present state of our knowledge.

The nearer probability in the identification therefore, is that the poet Laureate Paṁpa of this copper plate charter could be the same as Nāgachandra who was known as *Abhinava Paṁpa* and lived sometime during the 11th-12th century A.D. Taking the date of Nāgachandra and the date of our charter into consideration, it is natural to arrive at the conclusion that our poet was the same as Nāgachandra. Nāgachandra's family history is also not known to us. The fact which strengthens our poet's identification with Nāgachandra is that the latter belonged to Vijayapura i. e. Bijāpur[12] (with headquarters of the same name in north Karnataka). If this identification is accepted, we would have, for the first time, known atleast about two of his successors i.e. the poet's grand son Kūchirāja *alias* Kūchirājayya and the

latter's son Kappadēva *alias* Kappaṇayya who were in the royal service of the Silāhāra kings of their time and were known for their administrative skill and valour etc., rather than their poetic genius. It is also not known whether Kūchirāja was Paṁpa's grand son through his son or daughter though in all probability he was his son's son. The fact that the charter mentions Kūchirāja's grand father and not father indicates that Kūchirāja's father did not leave any significant mark of his personal achievement. However, it is a matter of great satisfaction that for the first time this copper plate charter has brought to light a hitherto unknown evidence about Poet Laureate Paṁpa who, on account of circumstantial and chronological evidences, can be identified with Nāgachandra. It will be really heartening if further discoveries will strengthen this point. I am furnishing below the family tree of poet Paṁpa in view of the above identification.

Kavi - Paṁparāja
(i. e. Nāgachandra *alias abhinava* Paṁpa)
|
son/daughter
|
Kūchirāja (*alias* Kūchirājayya,
minister of Gaṇḍarāditya)
|
Kappadēva (*alias* Kappaṇayya,
Chief Minister of Vījayāditya)

The recipient of the grant is Srī Vardhamāna-bhaṭṭāraka, disciple of Kukkuṭāsana-Maladhāri, who is already known to us.[13] Amongst the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kollāpura is the same as the present day Kolhapur. Vaḷavāḍa is the same as Vaḷivaḍe very near Kolhapur in the same district.[14] Siriguppe is the same as modern Siruguppe in the Belgaum district[15] and Miriñjenāḍu[16] is the area around Miraj (Maharashtra).

Text[17]

FIRST PLATE

[Metres : Verses 1, 18, 19, 20, 21 *Anushṭubh.*, verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*, verses 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 15, 16 *Kanda.*, verses 7, 11, 13, 14 Mattēbhavikrīḍita., verse 8 *Champakamāle.*, verses 9, 12 *Utpalamāle.*, verse 17 Vasantatilakā]

1 [18]Śrīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra-Syādvād-āmōgha-lāṁchhanaṁ jīyāt=[t*]raiḷōkya-nātha

2 sya śāsanaṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ ॥ [1*] Śrīmat-Khēchara-vaṁśa-viśruta-Śiḷāhār-ānvay-ā

3 ḷaṁkṛita-vyōm-ādityar=anēkaruṁ Kiḷikiḷādēś-āvanipāḷar=uddhām-aiśvaryaman=eyde tāḷdidavarō

4 ḷ=vikrānta-vīrāṁganā-dhāmaṁ tān=ene puṭṭidaṁ Jatiga-bhūpāḷaṁ jagaṁ baṇṇisal ॥ [2*] Tat-tanayarg=Goṁkalan=udvṛitta

5 bhujaṁ Gūvalāṁkan=ā Goṁkala-bhūpōttamana sutaṁ pratāpōnmattaṁ kēvaḷame Mārasiṁga-nṛipāḷaṁ ॥ [3*] Vi

6 nat-āri Mārasiṁh-āvanipaṁ maṇḍḷika-Bhairavaṁ Jayalaksmī-stana-luḷita-hāran=asuhṛid =ava

7 ni-pāḷa-kapāla-mauḷik-āḷaṁkāra ॥ [4*] Ā nṛipan=agra-tanūjaṁ bhūnuta-vikhyāta-kīrtti-Khēcha

8 ra-nṛipa-santāna-sarasiruha-mitraṁ tān=esedaṁ Gūvaḷāṁkan=akhiḷ-āvaniyōḷ ॥ [5*] Gūvala

9 -nripanim kiṛiyaṁ bhū-viśruta-kīrtti-mūrtti-Nārāyaṇan = udgrīva - ripu - nṛipa - van-ōddhūra-dāvānaḷan=e

10 sedan=asadaḷaṁ Bhōja-nṛipam ॥ [6*] Piḍidaṁ Śāntarabhūpanaṁ dṛiḍha-yaśō-vallī-lasat-kaṁdanaṁ Kaḍidaṁ Koṁga-

11 ja-maṇḍaḷēśanan=uraṁ geyd=eyde niṭṭelvan=ār=duḍidaṁ Bijja-nṛipāḷanaṁ moṛeyiḍal =durggṁgaḷaṁ dā

12 ḷiyiṁd=oḍedaṁ Bhōja-nṛipāḷan=eydoḍ=edirāṁt=āvaṁ bardumk=āḍuvaṁ ॥ [7*] Page-varan=ikki tad-ru

13 dhira-māṁś(sa)-vimiśrita-karddamaṁgaḷ=oḷe jaguḷikey=āda kūrasiya dhāreyo

14 ḷ=emtu baṁdaḷā page vara-vīra-Lakshmiy=avaḷaṁ nasu sōṁkaḍe kīrtti pōgi balmege jagamaṁ toḷaldapa

15 ḷ=idēṁ bisavaṁdamo Bhōja-bhūpanaṁ ॥ [8*] Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍya-Pallava-Kaḷiṁga-Turushka Varāṭa-Lāṭa-Kā

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

16. śmīra-Surāshṭra-maṇḍala-nṛipar=majha bāpp=ene Sapta-Koṁkaṇaṁ vāridhi-mērey=āge sale Parbbisi

17. Bhōja-nṛipāḷakaṁ Śiḷāhāra-kuḷ-ōdbhavaṁ taḷedan=udgha-yaśo-latikā-viḷāsamaṁ ॥[9*] Ā nṛipa-

18. n=anujaṁ nṛipāti-nidānaṁ-dharm-āvatāraṇ-ahita-kubhṛit-santāna-vara-vajran=akhiḷa -śri-niḷayaṁ

19. negaḷda Gaṇḍarāditya-nṛipaṁ ॥[10*] Baḷavad-vairi-nṛipāḷa-vāra-vanit-ōshṇa-śvāsa-tivr ānaḷ-ōrbb (vv)i-latā-

20. tāpa-vidagha-kānana-latā-gulmaṁ triṇaṁ kāshṭha-vutkaḷik-ōjṛiṁbhita-vut-prapalla-vita-vutpu

21. ṛ(ḷ)pāṁchitaṁ tad-vadhū-gaḷit-āśr=ūtkaṭadiṁd=enal=miguvar=ār Śri-Gaṇḍarādityana [11*] Satya-

22. Yudhishṭhiraṁ negaḷda Gaṇḍaradēva-māhī-taḷādhip-āpatyan=anūna-dāna-nidhi-tāra-Himā

23. chaḷa-chāru-chandra-śubhrātyaya-kirtti-Khēchara-mahītaḷa-nātha-kuḷ-āṁbujā kar-ādi

24. tyan=iḷā-priyaṁ Vijayadēva-nṛipaṁ bhuvan-aika-bhuṁbhukaṁ ॥ [12*] Svasti samadhi-gata-paṁ

25. cha-mahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Tagara-pura-varādhīśvaraṁ nija-yaśaḥ-prakāśā-paha-

26. sita-śarach-chaṁdra śrī-Silāhāra-narēṁdra-jagaj-jan-ābhīshṭa-siddha-sūta-Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-

27. prasūta kāminī-manas-sammōha-makara-dhvaja suvarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja daḷita-bḷavad-arāti-maṇḍali-

28. ka-darppa maṟuvakkasar=parigha-maṇḍalika-karaṭi-gha-

29. ṭā-saṁghaṭṭa vairi-gharaṭṭa nija-tējaḥ prabhā-prahata-mārttaṇḍa-maṇḍaḷika-java-daṇḍa-samuddaṇḍa

30 maṇḍaḷika-gaḷa-kāḷa-pāśa kaligaḷ-aṁkuśa maṇḍalika-śikhaṇḍa-maṇḍana Śrī-Gaṇḍarādi-tya-dēvana-siṁga sā

31 hasōttuṁga Kaliyuga-Vikramāditya Iḍuvar-āditya dharma-dhaurēya śaucha-Gāṁgēya maṇ ḍaḷi

32 ka-Nārasiṁga maṇḍaḷika-veśyā-bujaṁga samasta-śastrōdirṇ-ārṇava-pārāyaṇa rūpa-Nārāya

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

33 ṇa śakti-tray-ātiśaya-saṁpanna kārya-siddhi Śanivāra-siddhi nija-bhuja-baḷa-prabhañ-jana jitā

34 ri-ghanāghana । Giridurga-laṁghana । Vijaya-Lakshmī-vinōda-prāsāda Śrī-Mahālakshmī -dēvī-labdha-va

35 ra-prasād=ādi samasta-rājāvaḷi-virājitar=appa Śrīman-mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Vijayādi-

36 tyadēvar=Vaḷavāḍada nelevīḍinal=sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ geyyuttaṁ=ire। ta-

37 t-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi । Jinanāthaṁ tanag=ishṭa-deyvav = adhipaṁ Śrī - Gaṇḍarāditya-dēvan=iḷā-viśruta-kīrtti-vallari(rī)-vitā

38 naṁ sat-kavīṁdrōttamaṁ tanag=ajjaṁ kavi Paṁparājan=ene sad-vikhyātiyaṁ Kūchi-rājana vol pēḷ=peṟar=āro tāḷdid-a

39 var=ī viśvaṁbharā-bhāgadoḷ ॥ [13*] Pratihār-ōnnati-sandhi-vigraha-mahatvaṁ Gaṇḍa-rāditya-bhūpatiyuṁ muṁ Kha

40 charēṁdra-bhūpatigaḷuṁ kūrttiyal=int-anvay=āgatadiṁ saṁnd=aḷavaṭṭa pemp=esedira [।] Śrī-Kūchirājaṁ jagan-nuta-vi

41 khyātiyan=eyde tāḷdidan=enalk=ē[n*] vaṇṇipaṁ baṇṇipaṁ ॥ [14*] Ene negaḷda Kūchi-rājana tanayaṁ Jina-sama

42 ya-vārddhi - varddhana - chandraṁ man (Manu)-mārga - nīti - nipuṇaṁ jana - vinutaṁ Kappadēvan=akhiḷ-āvaniyoḷ ॥ [15*]

43 Satya-nivāsaṁ vibhudha-jana-stutya-guṇaṁ vimaḷa-charitan=ūrjjita-tējaṁ bhṛitya-nidhānaṁ Vijayāditya-

44 priya-mantri Kappadēvaṁ jagadōḷ ॥ [16*] Samasta-rājya-bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-padavī-virā

45 ja[mā]n=ōnnata-prabhu-mantr-ōtsāha-śakti-traya-saṁpannar=appa mahā-pratihāraṁ

46. sandhivigrahi Kappaṇayyaṁ tammayyaṁ mahā-pratihāraṁ sandhivigrahi Kūchirājayyaṁ Ko

47. llāpuradalu māḍisida basadiya Śri-Śāntinātha-dēvargge Miriñje-nāḍa baḷiya Siri-

48. guppeya tamma nārggāvuṇḍikeya mānyad=oḷage munnaṁ ā Kūchirājayyaṁ koṭṭa vṛi

49. ttiyaṁ dēva[ra] punarddat(tt)iy-āgi kāruṇyaṁ geyyal [vē]rkku[m]=endu binnapaṁ geyyal ā

THIRD PLATE[19]

50. Kappaṇayyana binnapadiṁ Śrī-man-mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvaraṁ Vijayādityadēvar Śakavarshaṁ 1077 neya

51. Bhāva-saṁvatsarada Pushyada Puṇṇame Maṁgaḷavārad=andina Sōma-grahaṇa-parvva-nimittaṁ ā Ko

52. llāpurada basadiya Śāntinātha-dēvar=āshṭa-vidh-ārchanegaṁ ā basadiya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇō

53. ddhārakkav=allirppa rishīyar=āhāra-dānakkaṁ ā Siriguppeya nārggāvuṁḍikeya mānya

54. d=oḷage Kūṇḍiya kōlalu mūru-mattark-keyyumaṁ ā magil=oḷage pannirk-keyya

55. maneya nivēśanamumaṁ Śrī-Mūla-saṁghada Koṇḍakund-ānvayada Dēsiya-gaṇada

56. Pustaka-gachchhada Panasōgeya baḷiya muni-gaṇ-āgragaṇyar=appa Śrī-mat Kukkṭā-sana-Maladhā

57. ri-svāmigaḷa śishyar=appa Varddhamāna-bhaṭṭārakadēvara kālaṁ karchchi dhārā-pūrvakaṁ

58. sarva-namasyaṁ sarva-bādhā-parihāram=āchaṁdrākka-tāraṁbaraṁ śāsanam=ā

59. gi koṭṭar ॥ @ @ Mad-vaṁśajāḥ para-mahīpati-vaṁśajā vā pāpad=apēta-mana[sā]

60. bhuvi bhūmipālāḥ yē pālayanti mama dharmam=imam samastaṁ tēbhyō mayā

61. virachit-ōñjaḷir=ēsha mūrdhni ॥ [17*] Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājābhiḥ sagar-ādibhir =yasya

62. yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phaḷaṁ ॥ [18*] Svaṁ dātuṁ sumahach-chhakyaṁ duḥ

63. kham=anyasya pālanaṁ dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v=ēti dānāch=chhrēy-ōnupālanaṁ ॥ [19*] Shashṭir=varsha-sahasrā-

64. ṇi svargē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ । Āchchhēttā ch-ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt ॥ [20*] Sva-dattāṁ pa

65. ra-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ shasṭir=varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimi [ḥ*] ॥ [21*]

Notes :

1 I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy) for kindly deputing me to examine and copy the Copper Plate Charter and to the Municipal Commissioner of Kolhapur for permitting me to copy the inscription. Shri Mohite and other officials of the Municipal Corporation rendered much help to me in examining the site and Copper Plate Charter and deserve my thanks for the same. Later I gave a talk at the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore and presented a paper at the annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India at Dharwar, in the year 1983, tracing the importance of the inscription. There was also News Paper and Radio coverage about this charter during the period of the conference.

2 On the site only a few remnants of the Jaina *basadi* were seen. However, a number of objects of worship were removed from the site and kept inside the store of the Nāṭya-mandira under construction. Two brass sculptures of Jīmūtavāhana were also seen my me along with other objects.

3 V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of Silāhāras* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VI), pp. 241 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 207 ff. It is also known that king Bhōja defeated Śāntarabhūpa, who is identified with Banavāsi Kadamba king Śāntivarma. However, it is worth examining if he could be a contemporary king of the Sāntara family. There has also been enough discussion about Khēcharā-vaṁśa, Silāhār-ānvaya, Khiḷikhīḷāvani, Sapta-Koṅkaṇa etc., earlier (*vide* V. V. Mirashi, *Ibid.*).

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 254 ff. (No. 55).

6 R. S. Mugali, *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Charitre* (Kannaḍa), Mysore, 1953, p. 78.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 81, See *JESI.*, Vol. XI, pp. 33 ff, my article jointly written with Shri N. N. Swamy, about the date of Nāgachandra. The record is dated 1068 A. D. According to this epigraph, poet Nāgachandra was in the court of the Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya king Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara.

9 See pp. 4 ff. of the Volume.

10 R. S. Mugali, *op. cit.*, 99.

11 *Pampa Bhārata i.e. Vikramārjunavijaya*, published by Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore 1931, *Chaturāśvāsa*, verses 29 and 30, p. 99.

12 R. S. Mugali, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.

13 P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, pp. 119 and 281.

14 See my above article published in the *Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 69, pt. 2. Also *vide* V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 230 ff.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 207 ff.

16 Ibid.

17 From the inked estampages and original plates.

18 There is an auspicious symbol in the beginning.

19 The text is engraved on the inner side only. On the outer side, the figures of a standing cow facing left, with a dagger in front and sun and crescent above are incised.

16 GOSAHASRA > GOSASA – A NOTE

S. L. Shantakumari

During the course of my exploration work in October 1986, I noticed two inscriptions near a place known as Māvaḷi in the Kalaghatgi taluk of Dharwad district. Both the inscriptions are in the form of the pillars with the engraving on one side. On the face opposite to the engraved face of both the pillars, the figure of the cow and the plough are engraved. One of the inscriptions (called here A) records a grant of Gōsāsa by an individual probably, in presence of the 1000 of Tammiyūr and the 70 of another place, the name of which is not specified. The name Mahāvaḷi is referred to as Māvaḷi by which the findspot of the inscription is known. The inscription seems to contain some other names which are not quite intelligible.

The second inscription called B also records the grant of *Gōsahasra*, which is called here by the name *Sarvagōsahasra* by a person probably known as Yarekuṇṇa, son of Nāyiga. This Yarekuṇṇa is stated to have erected this pillar. Both the inscriptions are not dated but they are ascribable to about the 8th century.

The inscriptions do not indeed reveal any new or important information but they have been taken up here mainly to try to understand the significance of the term *Gōsahasra* as it figures in the inscriptions.

It is not here alone that the word *Gōsahasra* figures. It figures in a number of other inscriptions in Karnataka but in a specific period, viz., 8th–9th cent.A.D. This word rarely figures in the earlier period and as well as in the later days, which means it was peculiar to the Rāshṭrakūṭa period. Further, the word occurs in the Kannaḍa form as *Gōsāsa*.

The normal expression that figures in inscriptions with this word is *Gōsahasram-koṭṭōn*, *Gōsahasram-iḷdōm*, *Gōsahasram-iḷdan*, *Gōsasam-iḷdōm* and the like.

Obviously, the expression refers to the donation of *Gōsahasra*. There is no difficulty in deriving *Gōsāsa* from *Gōsahasra*. Fleet, however, once thought that *Gōsāsa* comes from *Gōshṭha*, which he thought was a 'communal cow-pen, in-charge of regularly appointed officials'.[1] This interpretation is indeed not correct for obvious reasons. And this has been pointed out by certain scholars like N.L. Rao.[2] That the words are used as synonyms is proved by a number of inscriptions of this period.[3] For example an undated inscription of Amōghavarsha I from Devamgēri, Haveri taluk, Dharwad district says –

Kaliyamma nāḻgāmuṇḍu geye tivularā
Māramma Gōsāsi niṟisidōn mēṇṭiya

Another inscription of 8th–9th cent. from Hulihaḷḷi, Ranebennur taluk of Dharwad district says –

ellā dharmmamam geydu Gōsāsa Miḷdu
niṟisi mēṇṭi . . . .[4]

Gōsahasra, normally stands for a particular type of *dāna* of cows, but not necessarily 1000 exactly but in big numbers. This was supposed to be one of the *Mahādānas* as mentioned in the *Dharmaśāstras*.[6] But, so far as the Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions are concerned, this *Gōsāsa* or *Gōsahasra* did not merely stand for a *dāna* in general. But it appears to have become a technical ritual associated with agricultural operations because (a) in most cases, the *Gōsāsa* is associated with *Mēṭi* or *Mēṇṭi* which means a plough or a pole erected at the centre of the threshing floor and (b) a figure of a plough is in most cases shown in the inscriptions, recording such Gōsāsa. It becomes clear, therefore, that *Gōsāsa* was somehow related to agricultural operations, may be, at the harvest time. The literal meaning apart, *Mēṇṭi* also stood for an agriculturist and in fact it even denoted a guild of agriculturists such as *Mēṭi sāsirvaru* of Karnataka and the Chitramēḻi of Tamil-nadu and Andhra in the early medieval period. It is well known that these guilds of agriculturists had the plough as their insignia.

However, it is difficult to explain the exact nature of relationship between *Gōsāsa* as *dāna* and *mēṇṭi*. There are inscriptions which tell us that in some cases some individuals gave *gōsāsa* and erected the *mēṇṭi* (*Gōsāsamiḻdu mēṇṭiyam niṟisidōn*). Thus, *Gōsāsa* and *mēṇṭi* go together. Therefore, it may be suggested that *Gōsāsa* stood for a donation made at the time of harvest while erecting the threshing pole.

It was indeed an auspicious time of getting new crop and it did indeed call for a donation of cows which was and is the backbone of agriculture.

Notes :-

1 The term *Gōsāsa* occurs in a record of Kīrtivarman of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi from Mallēnahaḷḷi in Shimoga district (Ed).

2 *Ep., Ind.*, XXI, p. 207.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *SII.*, XVIII, No. 14.

5 *Ibid.*, No. 313.

6 For details see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, pp. 864 ff.

7 P. B. Desai *Felicitation Volume*, pp. 314 ff and *Mallempalli Somasekhara Sarma Commemoration Volume*, pp. 171-72.

17 THE BEGINNINGS OF BRAHMANIC SETTLEMENTS IN ANCIENT ASSAM

Mantosh Chandra Choudhury

Assam is "bounded on the north by the eastern Himālayas; on the east by the Patkai Hills; on the south by the Chin Hills, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the State of Hill Tippera; and on the west by the Bengal districts of Tipperah, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch Bihar"[1], including in the olden times, even Bhutan and probably the Garo Hills too. Assam, mentioned in the Epic, Purāṇic and Tāntrik literature[2] as Prāgjyōtisha and Kāmarūpa, *i. e.*, the Brahmaputrā valley, lies on the north-eastern border of erstwhile Bengal, and was to a large extent segregated geographically as well as ethnically from the mainstream of northen India for a long time.

Apart from many legendary kings of Assam like the Mahābhāratan Bhagadatta, etc., the first historical king of Kāmarūpa about whom we have reliable documentary evidence is *Mahārājādhirāja* Surēndravarman (5 th century A. D.) of the Bhaumavarman family (probably none other than Bhāskaravarman's ancestor Mahēndravarman mentioned in the famous Nidhanpur Copper plates)[3] whose Umāchal Rock Inscription,[4] however, only records the construction of a cave temple dedicated to Balabhadra.

It is actually from the time of *Kumāra* Bhāskaravarman that Assam comes to limelight, he being especially associated with the *Sakalōttarāpathanātha* Harshavardhana in the beginning of the 7 th century A.D., and from this time onwards, one finds an array of land-grants given to the *brāhmaṇas* —— a system that becomes the usual practice of the Assamese kings down to the 12 th - 13 th century or even later.

The Brahmanic settlements in this part of N.E. India, are not very well known. We have, however, more than twenty inscriptions of the early medieval period wherein hundreds of *brāhmaṇa* donees are mentioned along with the names of the donors and their regnal years, various details of the donees —— their *gōtras, pravaras* and genealogy as well as the vēdic schools and *śākhas* they belonged to; the places *(skandhāvāras* or *jayaskandhāvāras)* wherefrom the charters were issued; the designations and even names of officers associated with the grants; the names of villages *grāma* granted in particular sub-divisions *(khaṇḍa)* and districts *(vishaya)*, the measurements of respective lands with their geographical boundaries; the shares of different *brāhmaṇas* in a particular piece of land donated; the taxes the *brāhmaṇas* were exempt from, and the rights and privileges they were supposed to enjoy as long as *āchandradivākarau,* in addition to many other valuable accessory information.

The study is interesting in as much as it clearly shows that Assam was following the same trend of patronisation of the

brāhmaṇas as one finds in the donations made by the northern and east Indian kings right from the Gupta period onwards. In fact, the Gupta influence is obvious when one comes across names of contemporary kings and queens of Assam such as Samudravarman and his wife Dattadēvī (4 th century A.D.) of the Bhaumavarman family.[5] Subsequently, again, the Assamese kings of the Brahmapāla dynasty adopted the names of the Pāla monarchs of Bihar and Bengal like Gōpāla, Dharmapāla, etc.[6] Hence, there is no boubt that the conquests of Samudragupta as detailed in the famous Harishēṇa - *praśasti (Samataṭa - Ḍavāka - Kāmarūpa-Nēpāla-Katṛipur-ādi pratyanta-nṛipatibhiḥ)*[7] paved the way for the spread of Brahmanical culture in the north-eastern zone, having a different ethnic identity altogether, although no specific land-grants made to the *brāhmaṇas* could be traced epigraphically upto about A.D. 550. It seems, however, that vigorous efforts for Brahmanisation started only towards the middle of the sixth century A.D. which gradually gathered momentum in course of time, as gleaned from the Dubi C. P.[8] and Nidhanpur C. P.[9] of Bhāskaravarman (7 th century A.D.) ; the Tezpur Rock inscription[10] and the Hāyunthal C.P.[11] of Harjaravarman (9 the century) ; the Tezpur C.P.[12] and the Parbatīyā C.P.[13] of Vanamālavarmadēva (9 th century) ; the Uttarabarbil C.P.[14] ; the Nowgong C.P.[15] and the Ulubārī C.P.[16] of Balavarman III (9the century) ; the Bargāon C.P.[17] and the Suwālkuchi C.P.[18] of Ratnapāla (11 th century) ; the Guwahati C.P.[19] and the Guwākuchi C.P.[20] of Indrapāla (11 th century) ; the Gachtal C.P.[21] of Gōpālavarman (*c.* 1080 A.D.) ; the Khanāmukh C.P.,[22] the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka C.P.[23] and the Pushpabhadrā C.P.[24] of Dharmapāla (12 th century) ; the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadēva ; the Assam Plates[26] of Vallabhadēva (12 th century) ; etc.

All the above epigraphs quote the traditional Purāṇic injunctions to subsequent kings not to grab the lands already donated by the earlier monarchs. In such a short paper as this, only the early beginnings of the Brahmanic settlement in Assam could be properly discussed.

It may be noted that at least eight royal dynasties held their sway over Assam up to the 13 th century A. D., the earliest being the dynasty of Pushyavarman (*c.* 350 - 650 A. D.) which came to an end with the most famous king Bhāskaravarman during the middle of the seventh century A.D. This dynasty was followed by the Mlēchchha kings of the Śālastambha family towards the end of the 7 th century and their rule continued upto the 10 th century, whereafter the Pālas came to power in Assam with Brahmapāla. The Pālas were again followed by Tiṅgyadēva (*c.* 1100 A.D.) and Vaidyadēva (*c.* 1125 A.D.) of different lineage, both of whom rose and fell like meteors. They were succeeded by yet another dynasty founded by one Bhāskara (*c.* 1150 - 1206 A.D.), the most renowned king of the line being Vallabhadēva. The next phase of the history of Assam relates to the Ahoms in the 13th century.[27] Naturally, therefore, one comes across a large number of *brāhmaṇas* who were patronised by the aforesaid kings, and which helped in the formation of extensive habitations of this learned class of people in Assam in course of time. The

present paper, however, deals with the first large-scale immigration of *brāhmaṇas* into Assam and the beginnings of their settlements initiated by the earliest historical kings of Assam, mentioned for the first time in the Dubi C.P. of Bhāskaravarman dated in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. It is clearly stated in the inscription (*v.* 76)[28] that this charter had initially been granted by Mahābhūtavarman *alias* Bhūtivarman, one of the ancestors of Bhāskaravarman, and because it had got worn out on all sides, it was being freshly re-issued to those very *brāhmaṇas (pūrvabhōktṛibrāhmaṇēbhyaḥ)* for the same purpose as related earlier (*i. e.*, in the original charter). Historically, therefore, this inscription is of supreme importance so far as the beginnings of the Brahmanic settlements of Assam are concerned, Now, *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhūtivarman who was four generations earlier than the time of Bhāskaravarman, is generally placed in the 6th century A.D.[29]

Curiously enough, the Nidhanpur Copper Plates of Bhāskaravarman again, dated between A.D. 620 and 643 approximately,[30] are also a fresh revival of the grants initially made to the *brāhmaṇas* by the same king Bhūtivarman because it is so said therein that the original charter had been destroyed by fire (11.51b-52)[31]. Thus it is obvious that the practice of granting villages in Assam to *brāhmaṇas* was introduced at the outset by Bhūtivarman towards the end of the Gupta period. This was, in fact, the first massive migration of the brahmanical section of the society, presumably from Mithilā, to further east. Although the people of this region were originally Tibeto-Chinese hence non-Aryan and though they had first come into contact with the Aryan culture long age as known from the Great Epic,[32] the first surge of brahmanical colonisation is seen only during the middle of the sixth century A.D., probably as an after-effect of the Gupta political and cultural influence. In imitation of Samudragupta, Bhūtivarman performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice also, as recorded in the short Baḍagaṅgā epigraph from the Kapili valley.[33] Presumably, such sacrifices needed a large number of *brāhmaṇas* and priests, and the villages must have been donated by him in that connection as *dakshiṇā*

Now, the interval between Bhūtivarman and Bhāskaravarman must have been more than fifty years and since the Dubi Plates expressly refer to those very same *brāhmaṇas*, it is evident that the original donees must have grown very old by then and their descendants were afraid that the damaged or lost charters would no more give them the right of possession over their respective lands, which would now automatically become taxable. The donees of the Dubi Plates were *Bhaṭṭamahattara* Priyaṅkaraghōshasvāmin, a follower of the Vājasanēya-charaṇa of the *Yajurvēda* belonging to the Kauśika *gōtra* and *Āvasarika* Bhaṭṭadēvaghōshasvāmin of the same *śākhā* and *gōtra*, while the share-holders were Bhaṭṭapriyaṅkaraghōshasvāmin (different from the *Bhaṭṭamahattara* of the same name above) Bhaṭṭayajñaghōshasvāmin, Bhaṭṭarudraghōshasvāmin, Dakshaghōshasvāmin, Śrēyaskaraghōshasvāmin, Bṛihaspatisvāmin of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, Kabhaṭṭasvāmin of Kauśika *gōtra*, two other *brāhmaṇas* (names effaced) belonging to Māṇḍavya and Ātrēya *gōtra*, etc.[34] There were some more names

here, but are now lost. The inscription was discovered from the village named Dubi in the Kāmarūpa district of Assam, about three miles from the Pathsala Rly. station on the N.E.Rly[35]. Unfortunately, no description of the land donated, nor the names of the officials concerned, are available because of the loss of the six plates.

The Nidhanpur Copper Plates, however, are by far the best account of the earliest brahmanical settlements in Assam for the first time. It gives the names of 201 *brāhmaṇas* well known for their erudition and highly moral character who were thus patronised by a second endorsement by king Bhāskaravarman. These seven copper-plates were discovered from the village of Nidhanpūr in the Pañchaṇḍa pargaṇā within the Beniabazar Thānā on the eastern fringe of the Sylhet district of Bangladesh. The grants were re-issued by Bhāskaravarman (as in the case of the Dubi Plates related above) from his victorious military camp at Karṇasuvarṇa,[36] presumably after the death of Śaśāṅka who had his capital here.[37] An extensive plot of land situated in the Chandrapurī-vishaya in the Mayūraśālmala - agrahāra was again announced revenue free for the 208 *brāhmaṇas* in accordance with the traditional *bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāya*.[38] These *brāhmaṇas* belonged to 38 different *gōtras* listed as follows: Prāchētasa, Kātyāyana, Yāska, Bhāradvāja, Kāśyapa, Kautsa, Gaurātrēya, Kṛishṇātrēya, Kauṇḍinya, Gautama, Vātsya, Maudgalya, Śaubhaka (or Śaunaka), Pārāśarya, Āśvalāyana, Vārāha, Vaishṇavṛiddhi, Kauśika, Kauṭilya, Kavēstara, Māṇḍavya, Vāsishṭha, Agnivēśya, Sāṅkṛityāyana, Bhārgava, Jātūkarṇa, Gārgya, Pautrimāshya, Śāṇḍilya, Paurṇa, Sāvarṇika, Śālaṅkāyana, Ālambāyana, Āṅgirasa, Pāṅkalya, Bārhaspatya, Śaunaka, and Śākaṭāyana. The *charaṇas* followed by the *brāhmaṇas* mentioned herein are : Vājasanēya, Chārakya and Taittirīya (*Yajurvēda*) ; Bahvṛichya (*Ṛigvēda*) ; and Chāndōga (*Sāmavēda*).[39] An analysis of the above shows that more than half of the number of donees (actually 106) belonged to the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* of the *Yajurvēda* ; 76 of them professed the Bahvṛichya *śākhā* of the *Ṛigvēda* ; a few —— only 15 —— belonged to the Sāmavēdi Chāndōga *śākhā* ; and the Taittirīya and the Chārakya branches are, comparatively speaking, still less represented. Now, MM. P.N. Bhattacharyya[40] has taken the Kāśyapa *gōtra* of the *Ṛigvēda* and the *Yajurvēda* respectively as two different *gōtras*. He has also distinguished between the Kaśyapa and the Kāśyapa, the Bharadvāja and the Bhāradvāja, and the Vatsya and the Vātsya, and has thereby come to the conclusion that the Nidhanpur Copper Plates give the names of 56 different *gōtras*. This is historically unwarranted and does not stand socio-cultural scrutiny.

So far as the titles of the *brāhmaṇas* in this region are concerned, it is clear that *svāmī* was their invariable name-ending, e.g., Sādhāraṇasvāmī, Rudraghōsha-, Arkadatta-, Yaśōbhūti-, Vishṇupālita-, Nārāyaṇakuṇḍa-, Pravaranāga-, Bakulasōma-, Dhanasēna-, Dhṛitimitra-, Mēdhabhūti-, Padmadāsa-, Śanaiścharabhūti-, Sōmavasusvāmī, etc.[41]

A close perusal of the inscription points to the indubitable conclusion that initially the Yajurvēdī *brāhmaṇas* had the

greatest share of the land-settlements in N.E. India, followed by the Ṛigvedic *brāhmaṇas*. The Atharvavēdī *brāhmaṇas* are conspicuous by their absence in ancient Assam. The reason is obvious. According to the brāhmaṇical tradition, only the Ṛigvēdi, the Sāmavēdi and the Yajurvēdi *brāhmaṇas* used to be invited for the performance of sacrifices like the *Aśvamēdha*.

A close study of the inscription under consideration clearly reveals that there were initially not seven, but actually eight plates because, in the first place, the continuity of the text is broken in between the fourth and the fifth plates, showing that a plate is missing. Again, the shares mentioned against the names of each individual *brāhmaṇas* come to a total of only $158\frac{11}{16}$ parts of the entire land donated, in addition to 7 parts exclusively meant for *bali-charu-satra*, the grand total of the shares being thus $165\frac{11}{16}$[42]. This sort of fractional figure is simply absurd. In fact, the entire area must have been undoubtedly divided into 200 parts. The calcultion of the shares on any one face of a plate gives us the correct clue here, a fact which has not been noticed by any epigraphist earlier, in regard to the Nidhanpur Plates. The names of the donees start from the middle of the Third Plate (obverse).[43] Now, the reverse of Pl. III shows a sum total of $33\frac{15}{16}$ shares allotted to the *brāhmaṇas* mentioned on the particular face, and the obverse of Pl. IV[44] shows likewise 35 shares in all the average amount of shares thus coming between 33 and 35 for each face of a plate. Hence, the grand-total of shares shown herein above (*i.e.*, $165\frac{11}{16}$) should be added to the average of 33 and 35 (i.e., 34) which comes to 200 ($165\frac{11}{16} + 34 = 199\frac{11}{16}$ or 200). This exactly tallies with our hypothesis of 200 divisions of land donated. Most of the *brāhmaṇas* got only one share of the land (some, of course, had $1\frac{1}{2}$), but quite a few of them received only $\frac{1}{2}$ or even $\frac{1}{4}$; and only seven *brāhmaṇas* were allotted two shares each. The last-mentioned ones must have been more erudite scholars or their contribution to to the royal sacrifices considerably more important. They were: Sādhāraṇasvāmi, the *paṭṭakapati* (1.54) or the custodian of the charter, Saṅkarshaṇa -, Īśvaradatta -, Vṛiddhi -, Sāvitradēva -, Vasudatta - and Yāgēśvara-svāmī. Most probably, there were twelve such *brāhmaṇas* as per śāstraic injunctions in regard to sacrifices, but their names are not known because of the loss of a plate.

There is some controversy regarding the location of the land donated. The inscription says, "Seven shares *(aṁśāḥ)* are allotted for the purpose of *bali* (worship involving the offering of perfumes, flowers and uncooked food before the idol), *charu* (oblation of rice, milk and sugar boiled together) and *satra* (hospitality by distributing food to guests and the poor). The produce of the land found as an extension (due to the drying up) of the river Kauśika, shall go to the *brāhmaṇas*, the donees of the grant (*i.e.*, the share of the proportion to the share of their land); but the land found as an extension (due to the drying up) of the Gaṅgiṇī shall be equally shared by the *brāhmaṇas* as recorded. These are the boundaries: to the east

lies the dry Kauśikā ; to the south - east that very dry Kauśikā, marked by a hewn fig-tree ; to the west, now the boundary of Gaṅgiṇī ; to the north-west, a potter's pit and the said Gaṅgiṇī bent eastward ; to the north, a large *jāṭali*-tree ; (and) to the north-east, the pond of the controlling tradesman Khāsōka and the dry Kauśikā."[45]

It is conjectured by MM. Bhattacharyya[46] that the plot of land was situated by the side of the river Karatōyā upto which the boundary of Kāmarūpa extended according to Hiuen Tsang. The name Chandrapurī, occurring also in the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla, is said to be situated to the west of the Triśrōtā or Karatōyā[47] contiguous to the western boundary of Kāmarūpa. Again, Gaṅgiṇikā in the Chandrapurī-vishaya and the Mayūraśālmala-agrahāra mentioned herein,[48] also occur as Gaṅgiṇikā in the Puṇḍravardhana - bhukti and the Māḍhāśālmalī - grāma respectively in the Khalimpur C. P. of Dharmapāla.[49] Thus Chandrapurī must have been adjacent to Puṇḍravardhana which consisted of the districts of Dinajpur, Maldah, Rajshahi and the western parts of Bogra and Rangpur of erstwhile Bengal.

But N. K. Bhattasali, J. C. Ghosh and R. G. Bhandarkar were of the opinion that the Chandrapurī-vishaya was in the Pañcha-khaṇḍa *parganā* of Sylhet where the plates have been found.[50] They argue that the land donated had the Śushkakauśikā as the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern boundary according to the Nidhanpur Plates. The river Kusiārā flowing by the north-west of Pañcha-khaṇḍa, is identified by Ghosh with the river Kauśikā of Sylhet, The river, he says, "probably gave up its former bed in the east and took the course of the dried up Gaṅgiṇikā in the west after the grant of the plates."[51] In fact, *Gāṅga* is a general name, popularly applied to any large river in the regions of N. and E. Bengal, including Sylhet ; and Chōṭa-Gāṅga and Baḍa-Gāṅga frequently occur in common parlance. The controversy, however, clears up with the evidence supplied by the Paśchimbhāg C.P.[52] of the king Śrīchandra (c.975-76A.D.)which expressly states that Śrīchandra donated a major portion of the land of Chandrapura-vishaya (of Vikramapura or Rampal area) within the Śrīhaṭṭa-maṇḍala under the Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti[53] to 6000 *brāhmaṇas* belonging to different *gōtras* and bearing various surnames such as Gupta, Śarmā, Datta, Nāga, Nandī, Pāla, Ghōsha, *etc.*, Evidently, the Chandrapura or the Chandra-purī - vishaya and the Māḍhāśālmalī or the Mayūraśālmala agrahāra must be identical, being under a common *bhukti* ; and Chandra-purī must have been ruled over by Bhūti-varman, Bhāskaravarman, Dharmapāla and Śrīchandra at different times between the sixth and the tenth century A.D. Moreover, as K.K. Gupta says, "When a river changes its course, a portion of the old abandoned bed silted upon two ends is generally called *gaṅgiṇī*,*gāṅgiṇā* or *gaṅgiṇā* in Varēndrabhūmi, Mymensingh and the Sylhet district also."[54] Naturally, this sort of dry river-bed was covered up by rich green vegetations in course of time and was donated by kings. The 6000 *brāhmaṇas* of the Paśchimbhāg C.P. presumably are the descendants of the fewer *brāhmaṇas* in that area mentioned in the earlier Nidhanpūr and Khalimpūr Copper Plates.

The Nidhanpūr Plates were re-issued

with due information to Śrī Gōpāla, a recipient of the Five Great Sounds (*prāpta-pañcha-mahāśabda*)[55] Śrī Kshīkuṇḍa, the head-man of Chandrapurī ; Janārdanasvāmin, the dispute-settler (*nyāya-karaṇika*) ; Haradatta, the controlling officer (*vyavahārī*) ; the clerk (*kāyastha*) Dundhunātha ; and other high officials like *bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛita* (master of the treasury), *Mahāsāmanta* Divākaraprabha and the tax-collector Dattakarapūrṇa[56].

Now, a historian says that 'the most striking development' in the feudalisation of 'the state apparatus was the practice of making land grants to the *brāhmaṇas*[57] when the rulers were transferring the various sources of land revenue to the donees and even giving up their control over hidden treasures, mines or such other natural deposits. The theory is absurd, at least in so far as the *brāhmaṇas* are concerned, on the face of the historico-cultural reasons adduced below. In the first place, it must be remembered that really valuable pieces of land having great political and economic importance by virtue of their strategic position or high fertility were hardly ever donated by kings in their own interest. Hidden treasures, of course, could sometimes have been luckily found in certain areas, but mines or mineral resources presumably none - the kings or the nobilities surely having been particularly cautions of committing such foolishness. Moreover, why were such grants to *brāhmaṇas* made at all ? Was there any need for administrative changes in this way ? Was there, again, any dearth of adequate hands so that *brā hmaṇas* ultimately had to be given feudal lordship ? Did the kings ever mean it or say so anywhere in the epigraphs or literary texts ? As a matter of fact, the reason behind the patronisation of *brāhmaṇas* as observed in the Dubi and the Nidhanpūr Copper Plates related above as also in all other such epigraphs is crystal clear and does not need propounding a novel economic theory therefor. *brāhmaṇas* were not granted lands for wielding political power, nor had they by and large any say in state political, or fiscal policies framed by rulers, except of course the few royal priests from time to time. The candid truth is that the *brāhmaṇas* were adored for their wisdom, character and intellectual attainments and being educationists, engaged in *paṭhana-pāṭhana*, they were honoured by kings who tried their best to provide them with an easy, comfortable and peaceful living without the disturbances caused by the police, royal troops and other administrative officials of the state. In other words, no elements that could threaten their academic pursuit or hamper their *yajana - yājana*, were allowed to pass through the lands donated to them. The *brāhmaṇas* were recipients of lands for reciting the sacred text or for performing rituals and sacrifices big or small for the kings or the aristocracy. There is no valid reason. therefore, to think that feudalism was an outcome of land-grants made to the *brāhmaṇas* by the monarchs. The 208 *brāhmaṇas* of the Chandrapurī-vishaya multiplied, in course of time, to a staggering 6000 strong population, but there is no epigraphic evidence that any of them ever bothered to grab political power in any way.

Thus the two copper plates of Bhāskaravarman dwelt on at length above,

clearly show how for the first time, fresh colonisation of *brāhmaṇas* started in Assam by bringing under tillage new arable lands opened up by the shifting courses of rivers in this region. As said above, these *brāhmaṇas* must have been largely from Mithilā, as the Pañcha-khaṇḍa *brāhmaṇas* of Sylhet claim their origin from that place even today.

Notes :-

1 H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Reprinted by Munshiram, Delhi, 1973, p. 235.

2 *Ibid*., pp. 235-36 and *fn*. for various references.

3 Nidhanpūr C.P. of Bhāskaravarman, *vide* M. M. Sharma, *Inscriptions of Ancient Assam*. Gauhati University, 1978, pp. 38 ff.

4 *Ibid*., p. 2.

5 *vide* Nidhanpūr C. P. (*ll*. 11-12) in Sharma, *op. cit*., p. 41.

6 *vide* Khanāmukh C. P. of Dharmapāla (*ll*. 14 & 21), *Ibid*., p. 227.

7 Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (*l*. 22), *vide* D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2nd edn., Calcutta University, 1965. p. 265.

8 M. M. Sharma, *op. cit*., pp. 10 ff.

9 MM. P. N. Bhattacharyya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Raṅgpūr Sāhitya Parishat., 1338 B. S., pp. 1-45.

10 H. P. Sastri, *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 508-14 ; Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*, pp. 185-92.

11 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., pp. 44-53.

12 Sharma, *op. cit*., pp. 96 ff. ; Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., pp. 54-70.

13 P. D. Chaudhuri and D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind*., Vol. XXIX, No. 20, pp. 145-59.

14 Sharma, *op. cit*., pp. 127 ff.

15 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., pp. 88/109.

16 Sarma, *op. cit*., pp. 313-17.

17 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., pp. 86-109 ; also Sharma, *op. cit*., pp. 152 ff.

18 Sharma, *op. cit*., pp. 173 ff.

19 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*., pp. 116-29,

20 Sharma, *op. cit*., pp. 193-206.

21 *Ibid*., pp. 207 ff.

22 *Ibid*., pp. 225 ff.

23 Bhattacharyya, *op cit.*, pp. 146 ff.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 168 ff.

25 R. R. Mukherjee, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 370-86.

26 F. Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 181-88.

27 For details of political history, *vide* Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff; H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 235 ff.

28 *Śrī-Bhūtivarmā pradadau dvijēbhyō yēbhyaḥ paraṁ śāsanam-ā-kshatan =tat, bhūyāḥ samujjvālya dadau tadarthē Śrī-Bhāskaraḥ samprati tēbhyaḥ ēva.* (*ll.* 110-12) *vide* Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

29 *vide The Classical Age* (Ed. Majumdar & Pusalker), Second Impression, Bombay, 1962, p. 91.

30 Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 43; also *ll.* 139-40; *Ibid.*, p. 49.

32 For details, *vide* H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

33 *Ep., Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 18; XXX, p. 64.

34 *ll.* 112-17, *vide* Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

36 Karṇasuvarṇa is identified with Rāṅgāmāṭi in the Murshidabad district lying on the western coast of the Ganges, *vide* B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1954, p. 225.

37 For details, *vide History of Bengal* (Ed. R. C. Majumdar), Vol. I, Dacca University, Second Impression, 1963, pp. 63-64; 77-86.

It may be surmised that these *brāhmaṇas* were actually invited by Śaśāṅka to settle there. But this hypothesis is *prima facie* untenable. Mahābhūtavarman cannot be placed later than 550 A. D., and Śaśāṅka could, by no means, have come to power by then. It is, however, not very unlikely that after Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka gained ascendancy there, he had caused some re-arrangement of the Brāhmanical settlements wherefore the donees had to be re-instated by Bhāskaravarman.

38 *Bhūmichchhidra-nyāya* or "the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of land by one who brings it under cultivation for the first time (*vide* D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, MLBD, Delhi, 1966, p 51). Yādavaprakāśa in his *Vaijayantī* (*Bhūmikhaṇḍa, Vaiśyādhyāya*) says: *Bhūmichchhidram Kṛishyayōgyā*, i.e., a land which is uncultivable; for other interpretations and accessory details, *vide* Sircar, *Ibid., loc. cit,*

39 Nidhanpūr C. P. (*ll.* 54-126) in Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-48.

40 *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, *op. cit.*, p. 3, *fn.* 1.

41 Dubi Plates (*ll.* 112-17); Nidhanpūr Plates (*ll.* 55-126), *vide* M. M. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 and 43-49.

42 MM. Bhattacharyya's arithmetical calculation of the total shares amounting to $166\frac{11}{16}$ is wrong and this has been blindly accepted, without any verification, by M. M. Sharma (although there is a printing mistake there). *Vide* Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 41 ; Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

43 *l.* 55 onwards, Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

44 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

45 *ll.* 126-32, *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

46 Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

47 *Trisrotāyāḥ paśchimataḥ*, *Ibid.*, p. 64.

48 *ll.* 51 & 130, *vide* Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-49.

49 *Vide* D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, MLBD, Delhi, 1983, pp. 64 ff.

50 *vide* K.K. Gupta, *Copper - Plates of Sylhet*, Vol. I, Sylhet, 1967, p. 56 ; J. C. Ghosh, *IHQ*, VI, p. 642 ; Bhandarkar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1.

51 J. C. Ghosh, *loc. cit.*, ; *vide* also K. L. Barua, *Studies in the Early History of Assam*, p. 69.

52 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 94 ff.

53 "*Śrī Pauṇḍravardhana-bhuktyantaḥpāti Śrīhaṭṭamaṇḍala sātalavarga - sambaddha-āvēdikāsamēta Garalā-vishaya-Pōgāra-vishaya-Chandrapura-vishayēshu . . . . . shaḍbrāhmaṇa-sahasrēbhyaś = cha*" (*ll.* 27-28 and *l.* 51), *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

54 Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ; also A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Rajshahi, 1319 B. S. p. 15.

55 The five musical instruments were ; *śriṅga* (trumpet), *tammaṭa* (tabour), *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) used as horn, *bhērī* (kettle-drum) and *jaya-ghaṇṭā* (gong), *vide* J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-98 ; also Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 42, fn. 1.

56 Nidhanpūr C. P. (*ll.* 133-36) in Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

57 R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, 2nd Ed., Macmillan, 1980, p. 1.

18 THREE RECENT LANDMARK INSCRIPTIONS OF TAMIL NADU

Natana Kasinathan

Of the three landmark inscriptions discovered recently in Tamilnadu, the one which is painted epigraph in Tamil characters is the earliest and deserves special mention.

This Tāmiḻi inscription is found in a natural cavern near Mahārājakkaḍai in Dharmapuri District. It is in three short lines and seems to mention a gift made by two individuals Topaki Kōḍaṉ and Yaña Kāmappa. Since the word "Dhamma" is used for "gift", it may be presumed that the gift was made to a Buddhist mendicant. This shows that Buddhism prevailed in Tamilnadu even before the pre–Christian era, as this inscription is datable to the 3rd–2nd century B. C. Buddhism might have commenced to spread in Tamilnadu due to the mission sent by emperor Aśoka.

Another interesting fact in this epigraph is the occurrence of the word 'Yaña' prefixed to Kāmappa, one of the donors. This denotes the prevalence of the Brahmanical custom of performing sacrifices. There are many references to the sacrifices in Saṅgam literature. A Chōḻa king is called as Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi, one who performed the *rājasūyam*.[1] A Pāṇḍya King Peruvaḻudi is called Palyāgasālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi, one who performed many *yajñas*.[2]

Then the name Kāmappa is interesting as it seems that it has striking resemblances or affinity with Kannaḍa personal names like Basavappa, Sānthappa and Gaṅgappa. Kāmappa must have belonged to a family which had migrated to Tamilnadu from Karnataka region.

The text of the inscription is as follows :

1. [Dhammam]
2. Topaki Kōḍaṉ Yaña
3. Kāmappa.

The important fact about this inscription is that this is the first time that a painted epigraph of the pre–Christian era is found in Tamilnadu. There are numerable inscriptions painted as labels below paintings from the Vijayanagar period. There is a statement in *Śilappadikāram*, a Tamil work datable to 2nd century A.D. that Mādavi, wrote a letter to Kōvalan on a *Tāḻai* leaf by painting.[3] Further evidence is in the painting of the Bṛihadīśvara temple, Thañjāvūr, where a palm-leaf in the hand of an old man, Śiva who was in disguise, is shown painted with some letters.[4] The Mahārājakkaḍai inscription is the only solid proof for the fact that there were painted epigraphs in much earlier period in Tamilnadu than the above.

The second important inscription is also a short one written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script and assignable to 4th century A. D. It is engraved on the upper part of a

small rectangular stone unearthed from the land belonging to Kannappan of Eretti hill near Bhavāni in Periyar District.

The text is as folows :-

1. Turakayyuḷ-
2. ḷārukal.

This inscription can be interpreted in two ways. This memorial stone was erected in memory of a person who lived in Turakai, a village or of a person who lost his life after leading a life of asceticism. The second interpretation seems to be more plausible as no village of the name Turakai is now in existence near Eretti hill.

The custom of fasting unto death after renouncing the mundane life was in vogue in Tamilnadu in the Saṅgam age. It appears to have been followed continuously in Tamilnadu according to the inscriptions[5] of the 5th and 10th century A.D.[6] respectively.

Of the inscriptions which refer to this custom of death by starvation, this Eretti hill inscription is the earliest. Its script shows the transitional development from Tāmiḻi to Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Its palaeography appears to be anterior to the Pūlāṅkuṟichchi inscription[7] and posterior to the Arachchalūr inscription.[8] Therefore, it is datable to 4th century A. D.

The next epigraph confirms the earlier evidences about the Kaḷabhras in Tamilnadu.

Its text is as follows :-

1 Svasti śrī[॥*] Chandrāditya-ku[latila]ka sā-

2 rvabhauman-ākiya Śrī Kōkkaṇḍaṉ

3 Vīranārāyaṇarkuch = chellā ni

It comes from Veḷḷalūr[9] in Coimbatore District. It is written in Tamil characters belonging to the 12th regnal year of a Kōkkaṇḍaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ. It records a gift of *paḻaṅkāśu* with twelve and a half *śempoṉ* for burning a perpetual lamp during the day to Perumānaḍigaḷ (Siva) of Veḷilūr by Satti Arayaṉ of Veḷpurai-nāḍu.

This inscription mentions the dynasty of Kōkaṇḍaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ as the *Chandrāditya Kula*. On the basis of an inscription, in Poṉṉivāḍi this author has already suggested that Kō-Kaṇḍaṉ Ravi and Kōkaṇḍaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ might have been brothers and that they belonged to the same dynasty.

This is now confirmed as this recent epigraph states that Kōkaṇḍaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ belonged to *Chandrāditya - kula*. Both were Kaḷabhra rulers since Kōkkaṇḍaṉ Ravi is called in the Poṉṉivāḍi inscription of Kalinirupa Kaḷvaṉ. The famous Vēḷvikkuḍi copper plates refer to a Kaḷabhra king as *Kaḷappiranennum Kaliarasaṉ*. "*Kaḷappiranennum Kaliarasaṉ*" is an exact translation of the Sanskrit expression Kalinṛipa Kaḷvaṉ. Therefore, the epigraph of Kōkkaṇḍaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ confirms the rule of Kaḷabhras in the Western part of Tamilnadu even during the 10th century A.D.

4 ṉṟa yāṇḍu eṭṭu edir nālu iv–

5 vāṇḍu Veḷilūrt – Teṉṉūr – empe–

6 rumāṇaḍigaḷ Śrī Kō[yilu] . . .

7 ru nondāviḷakkup=pagal–erivad–āga pa

8 ḷaṅkāśinōḍu

9 . . paṉṉiru kaḷañjarai chempoṉ

10 kuḍuttāṉ Veḷpurai - nāṭṭu mu . . .

11 nta u . . . e (e)nta.

12 ttaṉ Chatti Araiyaṉ ippo[n]-

13 ṉāṟ [poli] koṇḍu ipparisu pagal no–

14 ndāviḷakk–erippārānār [ivvūr]

15 sabaiyār svasti śrī.[॥*]

Notes :

1 *Puṟam* 16, 125, 367, 367

2 *Ibid.*, 6, 9, 12, 15, 64

3 *Śilappadikāram* – Madurai Kadukan Kādai, *l.* 176

4 *Rājarājīśvaram*, pp. 16-17

5 *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 261

6 *Ibid.*, No. 262

7 *Tolliyal Karuttaraṅgu* – Pūlāṅkuṟichchi inscription - A re-look by Natana Kasinathan, p. 157

8 *Turavirundu Iṟantār Kal* by Natana Kasinathan, *Kalveṭṭu*, Issue No. 20, p. 19

9 Veḷḷalūr Inscriptions by Natana Kasinathan, *Kalveṭṭu*, Issue No. 21, p. 37. There is a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription of this king from the same place.

19. CHERLAPALLI INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMDURI-CHODA CHIEF.

M. D. Sampath

The village Cherlapalli in Nalgonda Taluk and District of Andhra Pradesh has yielded three inscriptions[1] in all. Of these, two inscriptions (A and B) are engraved on the rock to the proper right of a small shrine in the hill called Anēśvarammaguṭṭa, while the third record (C) is engraved on the pedestal of an image on this hill. All the three records are in Telugu language and are assignable on palaeographic grounds to c. 12th–13th century A.D. The record containing seven lines of text is dated Śaka 1129, Prabhava, Kārttika śu 13, Monday. These details of date seem to correspond to 1207 A.D., November 5. The *tithi* ended on the previous day.

It seems to register the gift of land by Eṟeyama-peggaḍa, from out of his *vṛitti* at Bhīmasamudram to the deity Trilōchana-mahādēva. He is described as *yakshiṇī-varaprasāda-labdha – sārasvatuṁḍu*, etc. The gift is stated to have been made for the merit of his parents and his master Kaṁdūri Odayana-chōḍa-mahārāju. The second inscription is undated and records the consecration of the deity Svayaṁbhū-Trilōchana - mahādēva and the construction of a temple to this god by Eṟeyana-peggaḍa of Kōḍiyachinta. Also, it refers to the grant of the village Kōḍiyachinta as *ēka - bhōga* and as an *agrahāra*, to his parents Trilōchana-peggaḍa and Meḍasāni and to his master (name referred to above). Another record from this place is engraved on the pedestal of an image. It states that (this is) the image *(rūpu)* of Śrīman - *mahāmaṇḍalēś–vara* Kaṁdūri Odayana-chōḍa-mahārāju.

We propose to discuss the identification of the chief Odayana-chōḍa-mahārāju figuring in our inscriptions and the area over which he ruled. For this, it is necessary to take stock of the inscriptions of this chief and of his family. Odayana was a chief of the Chōḍa family, whose members ruled from Kaṁdūru. The epithets borne by them are *Kōḍūru-puravarādhīśvara*, *Sūrya-vaṁśōdbhava*, *Karikāl–ānvaya*, etc. We come to know from their epigraphs that the earliest members of this family had Kōḍūru and Pānugallu, as their capitals.[2] Their kingdom covered an area comprising the present Jadcharla, Achchampet taluks of Mahbubnagar District and Nalgonda, Miriyalguda, and Devarakonda taluks of Nalgonda District. Initially, they owed allegiance to the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. Subsequently, they became the loyal feudatories of the Kākatīyas. According to Parabrahma Sastri,[3] after passing through semi-independent status, which the Kaṁdūri Chōḍas, enjoyed for nearly two decades, Udayana-chōḍa, son of Gōkarṇa, the only remaining chief of this family, honourably acknowledged the supremacy of Kākati Rudra, who by then was an independent ruler. He seems to have lived upto 1176 A.D., the

last known date of his record from Nelakoṇḍapalli.[4] The Māmiḷḷapalli[5] inscription belonging to 1178 A.D., mentions Bhīma and Gōkarṇa, as the sons of Udayāditya. They are probably the brothers. Another record from this place refers to Gōkarṇadēva-chōḍa as a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.*[6] This inscription is dated in the cyclic year Saumya which corresponds to 1189 A.D. These chiefs are identical with Bhīma IV and Gōkarṇa II. Gōkarṇa II was succeeded by his son Sōmanāthadēva. But an inscription from Idaṁpalli[7] belonging to Udayāditya and dated Śaka 1157 (1234 A.D.), informs us that he made an endowment for the merit of his father (i.e., Sōmanātha). Another inscription of the same date, but from Mallēpalli[8] village, registers the grant of Ākaṁ Mallēpalli village, for the worship of god Māhēśvara, by the Chōḍa chief Kaṁdūri Bhīmadēva-chōḍa-mahārāju, for his own merit. This chief may be the fifth of this name, though his relationship with Udayāditya is not mentioned.

The chief Udayana-chōḍa seems to have issued independent records, for his overlord is not mentioned in his records. Thus, the Cherlapalli inscription furnishes the earliest date, while his Idaṁpalli inscription gives the latest date.

Text - A[9]

1 Svasti śrīmatu[10] Kōḍiyachinta Eṟeyana-peggaḍa śrī[11] Svayaṁbbu(bhū)-

2 Trilō[12] Trilōchana-mahādēvaranu pratishṭheyu guḍiyunu jēi[ṁ]chcha Kōḍiya-

3 chinta ēka-bhōgamu agrahāramu Eṟva-nagara[13] Daṁtragavaliyaman-ārttiyu[ṁ]-

4 galavāḍu ta[ṁ*]ḍri Trilōchana-peggaḍaku talli Meḍasāniki Kaṁdūri-

5 Odayana-chōḍa-mahārājulaku dhamumaṁ(dharmamuṁ)gānu

6 Vēṁgi-nāṭilōna Vaṁggipuramu-galavāḍa Kās(ś)yapa-gōtruṁḍagu. .

7 kulu dha[rmma] . . . . [chaṁdrani]

8 . . . . . danavarū tama[guru] sutu[lā]. . . .[14]

Text[15] - B

1 Svasti śrī Śaka-varushamulu 1129 yagu Prabhava-saṁvatsara Kārttika śu 13 Sō-

2 mavāramuna yakshiṇī-varaprasāda-labdha sārasvatuṁḍunu śrīmat-sarvanamasy-āgrahāramu-

3 ṁ Kōḍiyachinta ēka-bhōgamu agrahāramunu Ēṟuvanagaraṁ Daṁtragavaliyaman-ārttiyuṁ galanāḍina-peggaḍa ma. . .

4 Eṟeyana-peggaḍa tama talli Meḍasāniki taṁḍri Trilōchana-peggaḍakū Kaṁdūri Odayana-chōḍa-mahā-

5 rājulakū dharmuvugā śrī Rāmēsva(śva)radēvara ābhyudayi. . [vi-dēvaru] Trilōchana.... [musayi] . . .

6 rbhōguḍu ettiṁche dēvarulaku vṛitti tammu Bhīmasamudramulōnu sarvanamasyamugānu sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō

7 harēta vasuṁdharā shashṭir-varusha-Sahasrāṇi vishṭāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ

Text[16] - C

1 Śrīman- mahāmaṁḍalēs(ś)vara Ka-

2 ṁdūri Odayana-chōḍa-mahā-

3 rājula rūpu

Notes :

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1972-73, Nos. 5-7.

2 *JAHRS.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 50.

3 P. V. Parabrahma Sastri : The *Kākatīyas*, p. 67.

4 *Hyd-Arch. Series*, No. 19, p. 31.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 63.

7 B. N. Sastri : *Śāsana Samputa*, pp. 167-68 and plate.

8 *A.R.Ep.*, 1976-77, No. B. 32 : *Select Epigraphs of Andhra Pradesh*, No. 15.

9 From inked impression.

10 The letters *matu* is written below the line.

11 The word *Śrī* is written below the line.

12 The first two letters of the word *Trilōchana* is engraved in between lines 1 and 2 and discontinued abruptly.

13 The letter *ga* is written below the line.

14 Badly damaged.

15 From inked impression.

16 From inked impression.

BOOK REVIEWS

Maukhari - Pushyabhūti - Chālukya Yugīna - Abhilēkha by S. R. Goyal, first published by Kusumanjali Prakashan, Meerut, 1987, pp. i-XVIII and pp. 1-277 Price Rs. 250/-

The prolific author Dr. Shriram Goyal has brought out one more scholarly and painstaking volume of inscriptions, a sequel to his earlier volumes on the inscriptions of the pre-Gupta and Gupta periods. The Volume under review includes select inscriptions of the Maukharis, Saśāṅka, Harsha, the Varmans of Kāmarūpa, the later Guptas, the lesser rulers of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, the Guhilas, the Maitrakas and of the Deccanese and South Indian ruling houses such as the Kalachuris, the Vātāpi Chalukyas, the Pallavas and the early Paṇḍyas. While the introductory chapter on the political background illustrates the author's sweeping mastery over Indian history, the brief introductions, Hindi translations and explanatory notes given for each of the inscriptions included in the volume help the reader know the full import of the epigraphical text. As in the case of the earlier two volumes of Dr. Goyal, the additional merit of the present volume is that it is in Hindi.

The reviewer has no doubt that the redoubtable author will follow this up with further volumes containing inscriptions of the later periods and hopes that while doing so he will take note of the latest writings on the subject. An instance on hand is the labelling of the ruling house of Vātāpi as Chālukya while Dr. Goyal himself has rightly pointed out in his introduction (page 38) that the family name normaly begins with a short *Cha*.

K V. Ramesh

Early History of the Deccan: Problems and Perspectives by A.M. Sastri, first published by Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi-1987, pp. I-XVI and 292 with XIV plates; Price: Rs. 400

This volume containing some of the research papers and lecturers by Dr. A.M. Sastri, published in different journals and occasional publications is a welcome addition to the literature on Indian History. Dr. Sastri being a leading Indologist of our country has made vast contributions in this field and his writings compiled here deal with some of the most important facets of this field of research.

The book contains sixteen chapters grouped by the author into two sections. The 1st section, the main theme of which is Central and Western Deccan, consists of chapters 1 to 6, while the 2nd section dealing with the Eastern Deccan, consists of chapters 7 to 16. The book containing lists of Illustrations, Abbreviations, Select Bibliography, Index and Plates has left nothing to be desired by a researcher and provides a comprehensive picture.

Chapters I to IV deal with various aspects of the Sātavāhana epoch. While chapter V deals with the Vākāṭakas, chapter VI places before us some new

evidences pertaining to the rule of Yādava Siṅghaṇa. The author being equally well-versed in Sanskrit literature, archaeology, numismatics and epigraphy, makes use of the latest evidences brought to light in this field, while discussing about the problems.

In chapter I, his discussions on the puranic evidence about the Sātavāhana kings, Sātanikōṭa excavation etc., cover some very interesting aspects of recent researches. In chaper II, numismatic evidence about Prince Śaktīkumāra provides new solution to the problems in this phase of Sātavāhana history. Chapter III and IV, dealing respectively, with the identity of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivasiri Puḷumāvī and the closing phase of the Sātavāhana power, bring to light some hitherto unknown evidences. Chapter V brings to light fresh information about important copper plate charters like those of Māṇḍhal, Māsod, Miregaon, Indore and Māhurjhāri and the Rāmṭēk inscription of Prabhāvati Gupta. In Chaper VI, which deals with some hitherto unknown aspects of the reign of Yādava Siṅghaṇa, there is an interesting discussion about his conquests and the role of his feudatories in expanding his kingdom etc. Chapter VIII dealing with some aspects of Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh takes into account archaeological evidences from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Amarāvati, Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Sālihuṇḍam and other sites. While Chapter VIII deals with problems pertaining to the rule of Vishṇukuṇḍins, the next chapter contains a discussion on their administration in a large part of Maharashtra including Satāra, Kolhapur, Ahmadnagar, Nasik and Vidarbha regions. Chapters X to XVI contain a welcome discussion on a number of regional ruling families like the Maghas, Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍavas of Mēkalā, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins of South Kōśala, Sōmavaṁśins and their relation with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, geneology of the later Sōmavaṁśins and the regal literature and nomenclature of South Kōśala. In these chapters the personality of South Kōśala, which maintained its own distinct tradition inspite of the change in political power, is well traced.

The volume reflects masterly and discerning scholarship of Dr. Sastri, who is equally at ease in dealing with the dynasties of South, Deccan and North whether imperial or regional. Compendia of this type are very much welcome, all the more now, when important researches in the field of Indology are being carried out in different parts of the country and research papers are being published in scattered periodicals and other publications. I, therefore, congratulate Dr. Sastri on placing in our hands this excellent volume. Shri Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi deserve our hearty appreciation for neatly publishing this work.

Madhav N. Katti

Social and Religious Aspects In Bengal Inscriptions by R.K. Tripathi, First Published by Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1987, pp. i-XXXV and 1-256 with 17 illustration, price Rs. 225/-,

The present book represents Dr. Tripathy's deseration submitted to the University of Calcutta for which he was awarded the Doctorate Degree in 1978. Dr. Tripathy has based his study mainly on inscriptions.

He has taken pains to collect all the important inscriptions of Bengal between 6th and 13th centuries A. D. published in various journals. The book is broadly divided into two sections A and B. Section A consists of seven chapters while section B comprises the last and eighth chapter. In the introduction Dr. Tripathy has given the geographical and historical background to the period of his study. Chapter I deals with the Caste and Profession of people as gleaned through inscriptions. Dr. Tripathy shows how the mixed classes (*varṇa-saṁkara*) borne out of the *anulōma* marriages were absorbed into the Hindu society of ancient Bengal while the mixed classes borne out of *pralilōma* marriages such as the chaṇḍālas etc. were practically left out. Chapter II is devoted to Status and Position of Women. Though women could follow any profession freely, they were not without restriction. In the chapter on Education and learning, Dr. Tripathy explains how various systems of learning including Āyurvēda flourished in Bengal. In the chapter on Food and Drink, Dr. Tripathy examines the food habits of the people of the region as can be gathered from epigraphical and literary sources. Chapter V is on Dress and Ornaments while Chapter VI deals with Games and Past times. Chapter VII deals with the study of Manners and Customs of people. This marks the end of section A.

Section B which contains chapter VIII is important as it deals with the religions and religious life of the people of the region. In this connection, it is to be noted that all the three ancient religions viz. Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished side by side in Bengal and there was no discrimation or antagonism amongst the three. The author has provided at the end the list of inscriptions made use of by him in the present study besides a useful bibliography, index and also an errata. There are seventeen illustrations in the book. They contain photographs of important inscriptions images, panels and other objects.

The book is thus a very important contribution towards knowing the socio-religio- cultural history of Bengal between 6 th and 13 th centuries A.D. and it will be welcomed by all scholars and students of indology.

S. S. Iyer

PLATE I
SATEM COPPER PLATES OF AVANIJANASRAYA PULAKESIRAJA

i

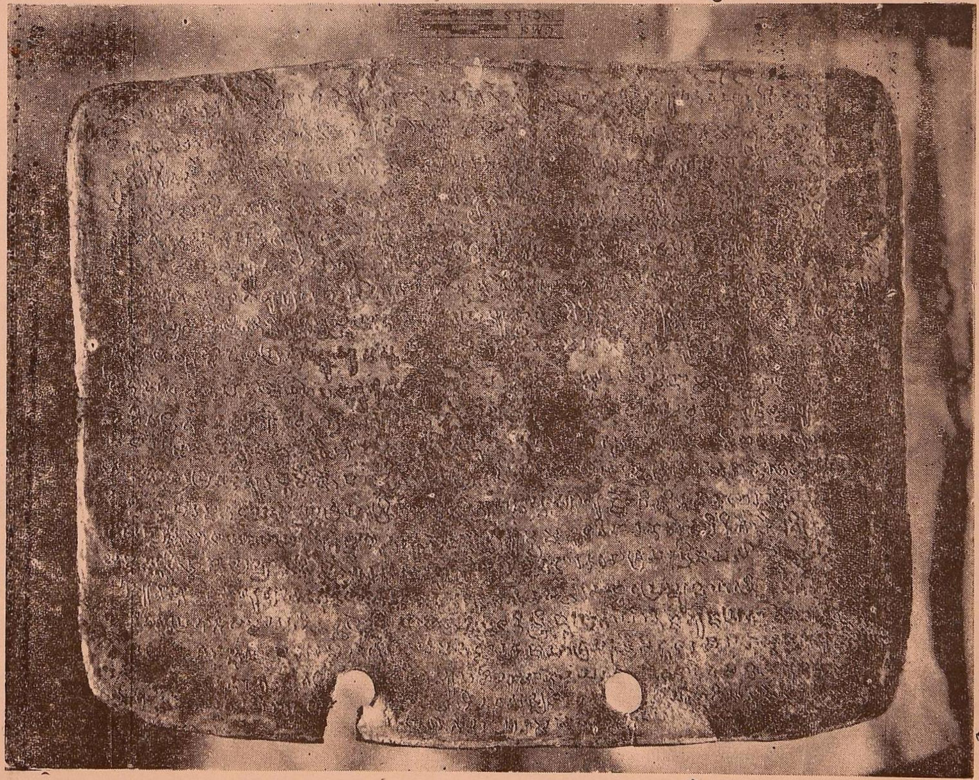
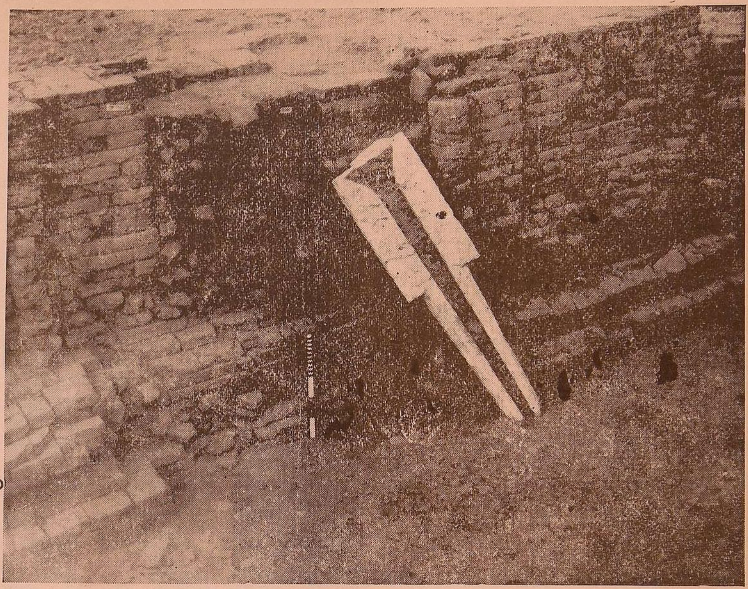


PLATE II

PILLAR REUSED AS PRANALA IN A BRICK TEMPLE COMPLEX



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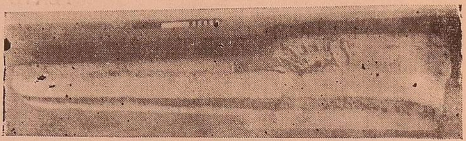
BRAHMI INSCRIPTION
No. 1

HEXAGONAL PILLAR - GENERAL VIEW .



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WITH MEDALLION
No. 2

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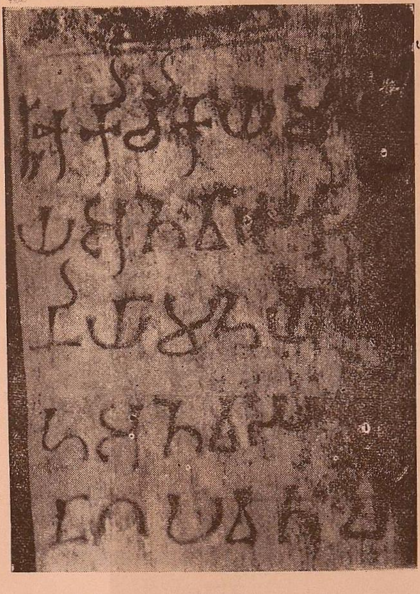
No. 2



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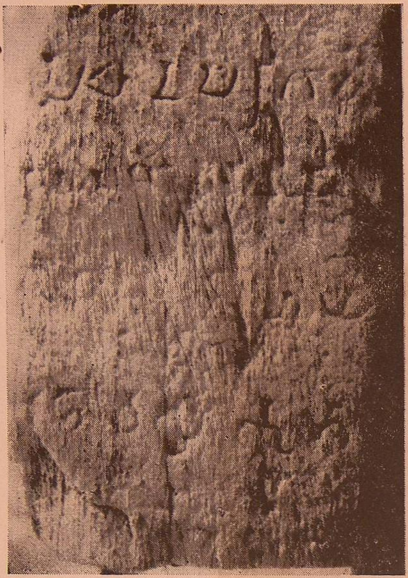


PEDDAVEGI BRAHMI INSCRIPTION

No. 4

PLATE III

A SUR INSCRIPTION, FROM MADHYA PRADESH

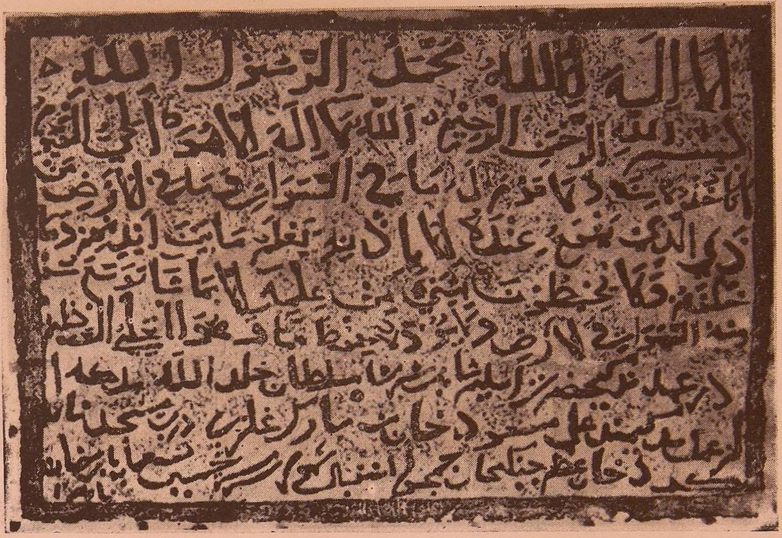
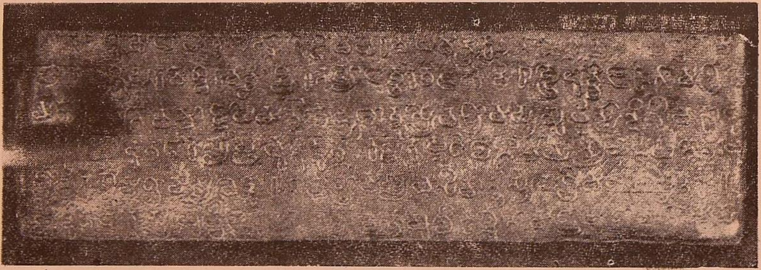


PLATE IV
CHUVVIURU GRANT OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN, YEAR 9

i

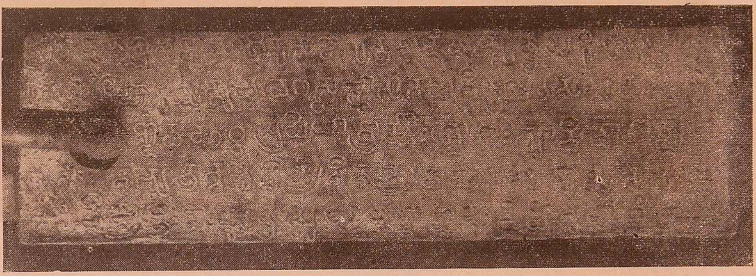
ii a

ii b



iii a

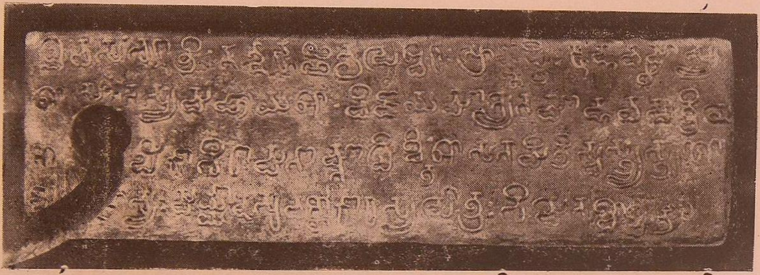
iii b



iv a

iv b

v



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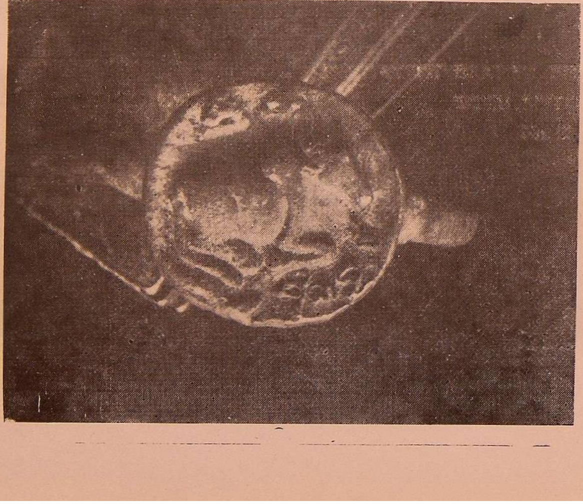
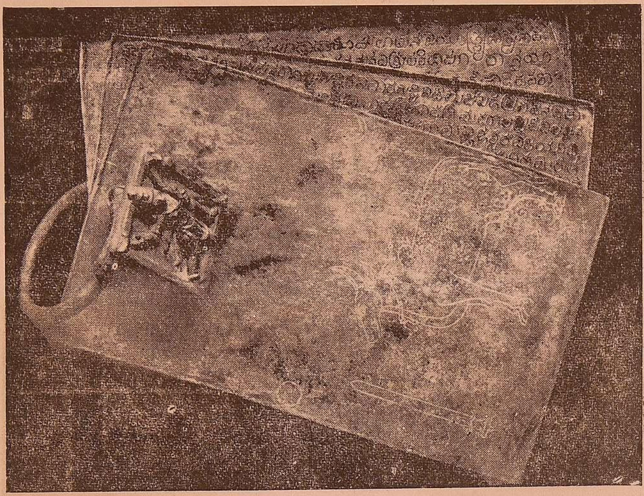


PLATE V

A SALANKAYANA INSCRIPTION FROM KAUŚĀMBI

PLATE VI

KOLHAPUR CHARTER OF SILAHARA VIJAYADITYA MENTIONING POET PAMPA - GENERAL VIEW



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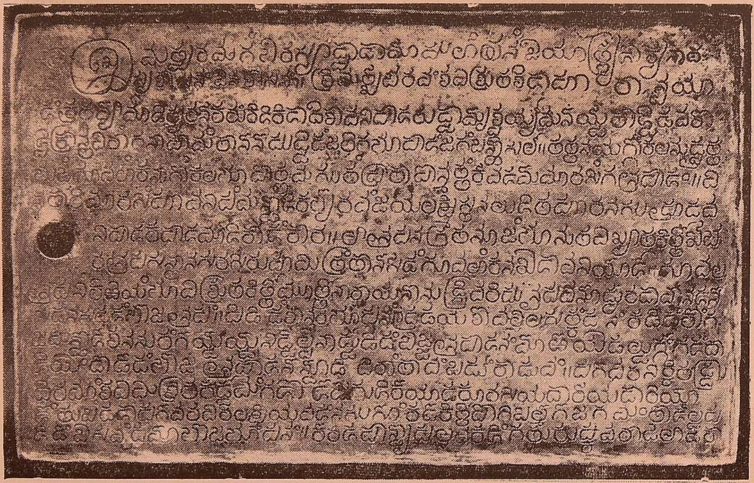

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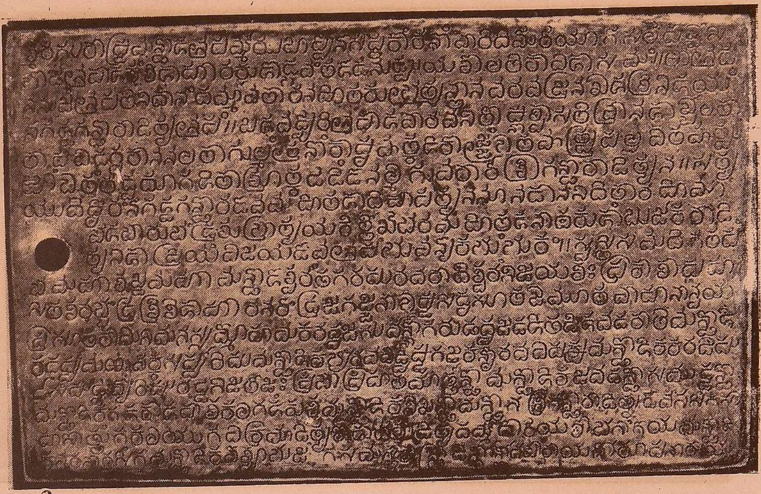

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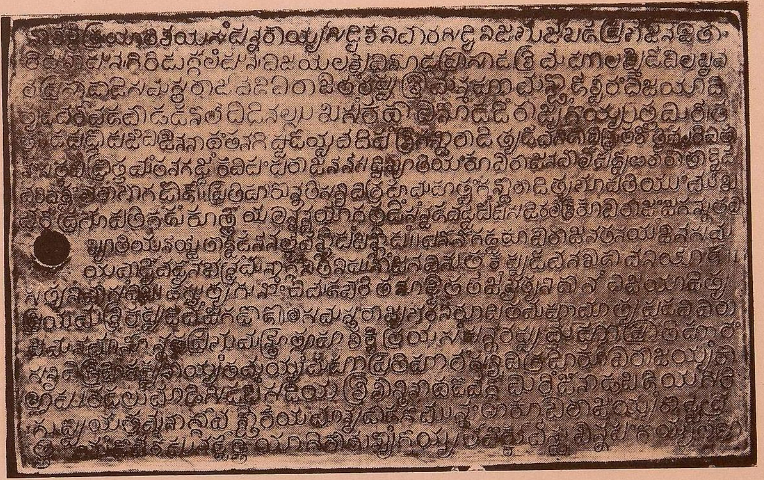

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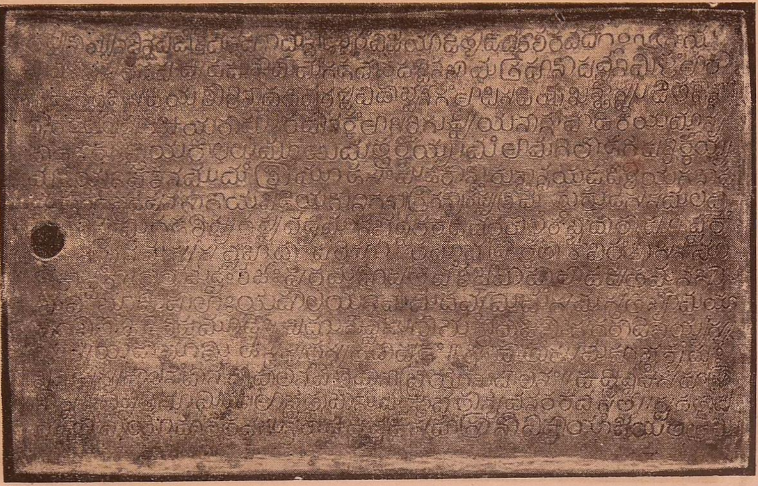
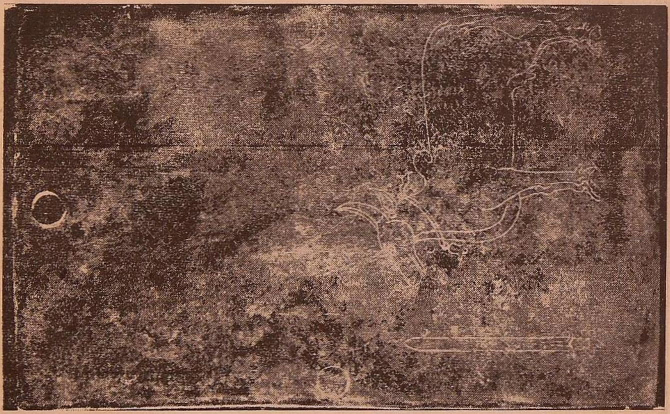


iii b



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